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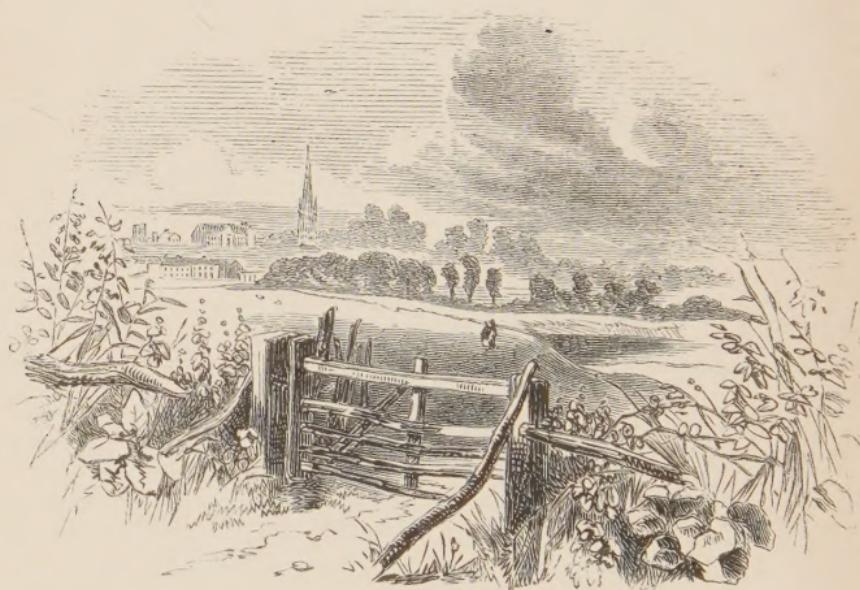
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ROSS, FROM THE WILLOW BEDS, NEAR WILTON CASTLE.

WANDERINGS  
OF  
AN ANTIQUARY;  
CHIEFLY UPON THE TRACES OF  
THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

---

BY  
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## P R E F A C E.

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IT is the object of the little book now offered to the Public, to give in a popular form a few archaeological truths relating to this country, which, it is hoped, may tend to foster a love of our national antiquities among those who are less likely to be attracted by dry dissertations. It is the result of various pleasant excursions in different parts of England, alone or in company with several friends of congenial tastes, whose society gave them an additional charm for me, which I would gladly, if I could, communicate to my readers. I have in most cases selected localities remarkable for monuments that are at the same time of great interest themselves and give an opportunity of embodying certain portions of antiquarian knowledge not generally possessed by those who are not professed antiquaries, or at least very generally misunderstood. In the present volume, the monuments to which I

have chosen to conduct my readers belong chiefly to the Roman or to the British or Early Saxon periods. This, I must state, is partly the result of accident, though I have perhaps also been led to the selection by the circumstance that many of these monuments are very little known in comparison to their extraordinary interest, and that they afford more room for giving popular instruction, and for correcting prejudices and mistakes, than those of a later period. If I succeed in this object, I shall feel satisfied that my “Wanderings” have been useful to others as well as agreeable to the writer.

I will only add that these sketches have been written at leisure moments during the last two years, and that, in one or two instances, circumstances connected with particular localities described in them have undergone some change during that period, which it is hardly necessary to specify. Thus, I am informed that the “Freehold Land Society,” of which I have spoken at the close of Chapter III. as then in possession of an important portion of the site of ancient Verulamium, has since resold that property, but I am not at present aware of its probable destination. Again,

when Chapter VI. was written, I was only able to speak of the paper by the Astronomer Royal on the place of Cæsar's landing in Britain from having heard it read in the crowded room of a society, and therefore imperfectly; it has since been printed in the *Archæologia*, and, although my opinion that the views of its author are erroneous remains unchanged, I confess that it deserves a more extended examination than I have been here able to give to it.

It is right to state that the greater part of this volume first appeared in a series of papers under the same title in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

*Brompton, December, 1853.*



## CONTENTS.

| CHAPTER  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| I. The Roman Iron District of the Forest of Dean and its neighbourhood . . . . .       | 1    |
| II. The Roman cities on the Welsh borders, Ariconium and Magna . . . . .               | 23   |
| III. Ancient Verulamium . . . . .  | 42   |
| IV. A visit to the graves of the followers of Hengist and Horsa . . . . .              | 69   |
| V. Sandwich, and the ruins of Rutupiæ . . . . .  | 85   |
| VI. The Kentish coast from Deal to Dymchurch . . . . .                                 | 101  |
| VII. Pevensey Castle . . . . .   | 137  |
| VIII. The Roman Potteries on the banks of the Medway . . . . .                         | 162  |
| IX. The Valley of Maidstone—Kits Coty House and the Cromlechs around . . . . .         | 172  |
| X. A visit to the Hill Intrenchments on the borders of Wales . . . . .                 | 190  |
| XI. From York to Goodmanham . . . . .  | 211  |
| XII. The Roman city of Isurium . . . . .   | 231  |
| XIII. Bramber Castle, and the early Church Architecture of the neighbourhood . . . . . | 260  |
| XIV. The Roman villa at Bignor . . . . .   | 272  |
| XV. Stonehenge . . . . .   | 287  |
| XVI. Old Sarum . . . . .   | 308  |
| INDEX . . . . .  | 329  |

## ENGRAVINGS.

| 1. Ross, from the Willow-beds, near Wilton Castle                   | <i>to face the Title.</i> |
|---|---------------------------|
| 2. The Buckstone, near Monmouth                                     | PAGE 8                    |
| 3. King Arthur's Hall, Great Doward                                 | 13                        |
| 4. Roman altar used as a Stoup, Tretire Church                      | 16                        |
| 5. Site of the Roman town at Kenchester                             | 34                        |
| 6. St. Alban's Church from Verulamium, with the ancient<br>Causeway | 45                        |
| 7. Part of the Wall and Foss of Verulamium                          | 46                        |
| 8. Remains of the Theatre at Verulamium                             | 55                        |
| 9. Part of the Wall of the Theatre, Verulamium                      | 56                        |
| 10. Ground plan of the Roman Theatre at Verulamium                  | 58                        |
| 11. Site of the early Saxon Cemetery at Osengall                    | 77                        |
| 12. Richborough, from the road from Sandwich to Canterbury          | 88                        |
| 13. Conical hills near Folkestone                                   | 112                       |
| 14. Cæsar's Camp  | 113                       |
| 15. Hythe, from the Canal   | 118                       |
| 16. View near Lymne   | 122                       |
| 17. Foundations of a Roman house at Lymne                           | 127                       |
| 18. Spring at Lymne   | 134                       |
| 19. Roman Tower, with Norman superstructure, Pevensey               | 147                       |
| 20. Roman Tower, with subsequent repairs, Pevensey                  | 149                       |
| 21. Otterham Creek  | 165                       |
| 22. Roman Barrow at Hoborough                                       | 183                       |
| 23. Digging the Barrow  | 185                       |
| 24. Barrow-diggers in a Storm                                       | 186                       |
| 25. Brandon Camp—Southern vallum                                    | 196                       |
| 26. Coxwall Knoll, as seen from Brandon Camp                        | 198                       |
| 27. Goodmanham Church   | 219                       |
| 28. Sompting Church   | 267                       |
| 29. Situation of Bignor, as seen from Bury Hill                     | 276                       |

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 30. Huts protecting the Bignor Pavements . . . . .     | 277  |
| 31. Pavement of the principal Room at Bignor . . . . . | 281  |
| 32. Interior of Stonehenge, from the east . . . . .    | 293  |
| 33. Stonehenge, from the north . . . . .               | 294  |
| 34. Old Sarum, from the Devizes road . . . . .         | 307  |
| 35. Outer Entrenchments of Old Sarum . . . . .         | 309  |
| 36. Eastern Entrance to Old Sarum . . . . .            | 310  |
| 37. Bird's-eye view of Old Sarum . . . . .             | 322  |
| 38. Fragment of the Town Wall of Old Sarum . . . . .   | 324  |
| 39. Old Sarum, from Little Durnford Hill . . . . .     | 327  |

---

## VIGNETTES.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 40. Roman Toys . . . . .                              | 38  |
| 41. Plan of Richborough . . . . .                     | 90  |
| 42. Plan of buildings at Lymne . . . . .              | 130 |
| 43. Plan of Pevensey Castle . . . . .                 | 151 |
| 44. Roman Pottery from the Upchurch Marshes . . . . . | 167 |
| 45. Section of the Barrow at Hoborough . . . . .      | 188 |
| 46. Norman Capital in Goodmanham Church . . . . .     | 227 |
| 47. Plan of the site of Isurium . . . . .             | 245 |
| 48. Norman Capitals in New Shoreham Church . . . . .  | 267 |



# WANDERINGS OF AN ANTIQUARY.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ROMAN IRON DISTRICT OF THE FOREST OF DEAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

ALL visitors are agreed that Ross is a pretty and an interesting town. Although it cannot be said to possess, as a town, any very remarkable feature, yet there is enough in it to attract and please; and, without any great claims in the scenery immediately surrounding it, its prospects are sufficiently picturesque and beautiful to engage the traveller. Yet Ross derives its chief interest from the circumstance that it is the centre of a district which, remarkable for the extreme beauty of its scenery, is at the same time filled with monuments of the old time, and rich in historical reminiscences and traditions. Not more than three miles to the south-eastward, under the commanding heights of Penyard, is traced the site of the Roman city of

Ariconium. At a short distance south from Ross the traveller enters upon the elevated woodlands of the Forest of Dean. Eastward and northward a rich and varied country is filled with early churches, old manor houses, camps, and tumuli, and other traces of the ancient peoples who have occupied the land. But the most beautiful and interesting excursion from Ross is that which carries the visitor down the Wye to Monmouth, and which may be made either by the river or by the road.

At less than a mile from Ross the Wye is crossed by Wilton Bridge, a good structure of the reign of Elizabeth, curious chiefly for the manner in which the stones of the arches are made to lock into one another. Close above the bridge, on the opposite bank of the river, stand, almost buried in trees, the ruins of Wilton Castle, the ancient baronial seat of the Lords Grey de Wilton. Wilton upon Wye is in the parish of Bridstow, the little church of which possesses several points of interest for the ecclesiastical antiquary; while from the ascent of the Hereford road the traveller will obtain one of the best near views of the town of Ross, backed by the hill of Penyard. The road to Monmouth turns off to the left at the turnpike before he ascends the rise of the Hereford road.

For more than a mile the road to Monmouth is uninteresting. It then rises a little and opens to the river, and we obtain in that direction a varying landscape, the chief feature of which is the winding course of the Wye. Look-

ing back, Ross, known by its pointed spire and by its white square hotel (not a very pleasing object in the landscape), and Wilton bridge, are seen in the distance. A little further we begin to ascend more elevated ground, and when we reach a place called Pencraig the view which presents itself to us is exceedingly fine. To the left the spire of Ross arises in the midst of the woods and hills that surround it; below the river winds its way through a beautiful valley, which has not yet closed in upon it as it does a little further down, while to the right the high promontory which overlooks it is crowned with the noble ruins of Goodrich Castle. Continuing our way from Pencraig, we shortly afterwards turn off into the grounds of Goodrich Court, celebrated for the museum of ancient armour and other antiquities collected there by the late Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick. The museum, especially its collection of carvings in ivory, bequeathed to Sir Samuel by the late Mr. Douce, is well worthy of the careful examination of the visitor. The house itself is a modern castle, built in not very good imitation of several styles, of which it would be difficult to point out any examples in the surrounding country, and presenting somewhat the appearance of a large wooden toy; it is beautifully situated with charming views over the valley of the Wye, but the building itself is in extremely bad taste, and this is felt the more from the contrast with the fine ruins which present themselves on the summit of the adjoining hill. The latter

are exceedingly interesting, and deserve to be carefully examined for their architectural peculiarities. Goodrich Castle was originally built in the later period of the Saxon monarchy; but the present remains are Norman, with the addition of works of the Edwardian period, finally repaired and adorned in the fifteenth century. Among its peculiarities is the singular prevalence of triangular heads for arches.

The view from Goodrich Castle is superior to any which has hitherto presented itself; and the prospect of the castle from the river below is equally remarkable for its picturesque grandeur. The wanderer in search of antiquities may visit the remains of Flanesford Priory, which once stood there under the protection of the castle above, and the last remnant of which now serves the humble purposes of a barn.

After leaving Goodrich Castle, the road again turns off from the river, or rather the river turns off from the road, and, as the latter crosses over the high ridge behind, it furnishes a series of extensive views of a different description, bounded in the distance by the mountains of Wales. Hence descending to Old Forge, we again come upon the river amid some of the finest of the Wye scenery, at Huntisham Hill, on the opposite side of the Wye, which is covered with large detached blocks of stone, and presents a very remarkable appearance. While we have thus been following the road to Monmouth, the river itself has made

a long sweep of several miles, winding between lofty hills, sometimes rising gradually and covered with thick hanging woods, and at others breaking into rocky precipices. Towards the south may be seen glimpses of the wild country of the Forest of Dean. Further on, the river passes beneath the narrow precipitous rock of Symond's Yat (*i. e.* Gate), and then discloses a new series of magnificent views, till it reaches the wild scenery of the New Weir, where the stream, confined in its channel, becomes extremely rapid. From Whitechurch the road we have been pursuing runs again from the river behind two hills called the Great and Little Dowards, till we come once more in sight of the Wye, and our road then continues in a course almost parallel to its banks, under wooded heights on the right, and on the left with fine views over the river in one direction through the valley in which it winds its course under the Dowards, and in the other through masses of wooded hills which skirt its banks, until it approaches Monmouth.

It would not be easy to point out a more beautiful situation for a town than that of Monmouth. It stands at a bend of the river Wye, where it is joined by the Monnow, in a fertile valley surrounded by high hills, which looks, from the road up the Kymin, like a green carpet raised up at numerous corners, with the town in the bottom. Monmouth is believed by antiquaries to stand on or near the site of the ancient Blestium, a town of the Romans which

occupied the borders of the great Roman iron-works of the Forest of Dean; and the ordinary traveller, as he treads the route which we have been following, and dwells on its picturesque beauties, little thinks that some fifteen centuries ago many of the bright cornfields and thick leafy copses which now arrest his eye were represented by bare hills covered with immense heaps of black cinders—in fact the Dudley and Birmingham of Roman Britain.

It was this circumstance which particularly attracted our attention in a recent visit to this beautiful district, and when we had reached Monmouth, instead of continuing on the beaten track of what is called “the Wye tour,” we prepared for an excursion to the most interesting part of the Roman iron district, the neighbourhood of Coleford. The carriage of a friend carried us over the Wye bridge, and we pursued the road which winds through the thick mass of oak and hazel, mixed here and there with birch and mountain ash and other trees, and adorned in variegated colours with a multitude of ferns and wild-flowers, which clothe the side of the Kymin mountain. Behind us the view stretched over the vale of Monmouth, and before us was at first the scenery of the banks of the Wye through which we had previously passed, and, as we advanced further, the Buckstone and other hills, their sides covered with masses of hanging woods unequalled on this side the Appenines. We soon turned the head of a deep ravine, and the road began to ascend still higher up to the side of the Buck-

stone itself. This lofty hill takes its name from one of those remarkable objects called rocking-stones, which stands within the wood at the top. With another of our party, I left the carriage about half way up the hill, and, assisted with those weapons which neither antiquary nor geologist should be without on such occasions, we forced our way upwards through the closely matted underwood, with considerable labour and time, halting from time to time to admire a wild flower or regale ourselves with the ripe bilberries with which the ground was covered. At last we reached the summit, and found ourselves at the verge of the wood, on open ground, scattered with fern and furze bushes, and covered with wild thyme and large patches of purple heath, then in full bloom. This open ground sloped towards Gloucestershire, and afforded a magnificent view over the series of wooded hills which form the Forest of Dean. We had, however, missed the Buckstone, and we had to follow the edge of the wood, and thence force our way into it again, before we reached the object of our search.

If I could bring myself to believe that masses of rock like this were so placed by the hands of ancient Druids, I should conclude that never was a grander spot chosen for the performance of their superstitious worship than that occupied by the Buckstone. It stands near the top of the hill, in a small open space, so that it is visible from a distance, with a magnificent amphitheatre of lofty hills,

generally covered with wood, around, and the deep valley of the Wye hundreds of feet below. But the geologists have taught me, and my own observations have certainly led me to believe them, that we owe the rocking-stones to natural causes, and that they are not artificial. Our excursion up the Kymin afforded us a practical confirmation of this. In the midst of the wood we observed here and there numerous masses of the same stone, going through the process of being made into rocking-stones. The rock itself ranges through most of the hills from Penyard hither, and is that which is known as the old red conglomerate, composed of quartz pebbles in a sandy matrix, very unequally hardened, so that, under the influence of the weather, it disintegrates into large irregular shaped blocks, such as are seen on the sides of Huntisham Hill, mentioned before, and are of frequent occurrence in other places. We met with more than one example where a little more clearing with some accidental circumstances would have produced as perfect a rocking-stone as the Buckstone itself. The latter consists of a mass of rock of a pyramidal form, nearly sixty feet in circumference, supported on its apex. The point on which it rests is about three feet round. Fosbroke tell us, in his "Wye Tour," that he thought upon trial he "could just perceive it move." It did not appear to me capable of doing so. I remained long enough to make a hasty sketch of it, from which the accompanying engraving is taken, and then we



THE BUCKSTONE, NEAR MONMOUTH.



crossed the open heath and descended on the other side of the mountain to the picturesque village of Staunton, where we rejoined our friends, who had proceeded thither in the carriage by the road round the margin of the Buckstone hill.

We were now in Gloucestershire, within the limits of the Forest of Dean, and a little more than two miles would have brought us to the small town of Coleford. Instead, however, of proceeding thither, we turned off along a bye-road to an old farm-house called the Scowles farm. This place, which also stands on high ground, receives its name from the numerous remains of Roman iron-mines around it, which are known by the popular appellation of the Scowles; a name which I cannot explain. The ground occupied by the mines or Scowles, having, from its unevenness, been left uncultivated, is always covered with thick copses, and it is necessary to be careful in entering them, lest we fall unawares into the entrances to the ancient mines. These entrances are formed as follows. A large round pit or hollow in the earth—one we entered was from twenty to thirty feet in diameter and about twenty feet in depth—was sunk till the miners arrived at a vein of the iron ore, which they then worked into the earth as far as they could follow it. As they now remain, we find at the bottom of the pit just mentioned, on one side, an aperture resembling the entrance to a large low oven. Into this we entered a few feet in the dark—we

unfortunately had no lights—and then finding it somewhat clogged up with the accumulation of earth at the mouth, and considering it not very safe to pass further, we contented ourselves with throwing a stone, which we could distinctly hear rolling down for some seconds, so that it was evidently deep. The cottagers in the neighbourhood told us that some of these mines went two or three hundred feet under ground, and that they descended into them with lanterns, and obtained very pure water at the bottom.

The ore, or, as the workmen call it, mine, found here is of fibrous appearance, so rich in metal that it sometimes looks almost like pure iron, and it is still picked up so abundantly about the old Roman mines, that it is found everywhere built into the rough walls surrounding the cottage gardens. The antiquity of these mines is proved by the circumstance that Roman coins and pottery have frequently been picked up about them. Indeed we find these proofs of Roman occupation thickly scattered over this district. Some four or five years ago, workmen employed in raising blocks of silicious grit stone from an edge of rock in a small oak copse called Perry Grove, about a mile from Coleford, discovered in the cavity of a rock three earthen vessels containing upwards of *three thousand* Roman brass coins.

On the ground between this place and the Wye we still find immense quantities of iron scoriae or cinders from

the Roman works. On leaving the Scowles we drove along the way to Redbrook. The road descended between hills, now clad in woods, but which also were covered with a deep layer of Roman cinders. Some of these are known by names which indicate their former condition, such as Forge Wood and Old Hill. In the valley between these hills a small but rapid stream descends, by the side of which our road lay. At one point of this stream, an ingenious speculator has taken advantage of it to erect a machine, of a very simple construction, which, worked by the current, reduces to powder the ancient scoriæ that are thrown into it, and this powder is carried down to Bristol, where it is used for making coarse glass bottles. At Upper Redbrook we again reached the banks of the Wye, below Monmouth, and, having sent our carriage back to that town, we prepared to cross the river by the ferry-boat established here. The cinders in the ground around had apparently increased in quantity as we approached the river, and at the edge of the water at Upper Redbrook ferry they lay under our feet like pebbles on the sea-shore.

The view on the river was again fine. On the Redbrook side it was bordered with hills covered with wood, while opposite rose the less wooded but more elevated hill of Penalt. The ferry at Upper Redbrook is no doubt of remote antiquity. When we landed at the foot of Penalt, we came upon an ancient road, which I have little doubt is Roman; it is paved with stones, like flags, carefully

fitted together, but of all shapes and sizes, and proceeds directly up the steep side of the hill, and one of my friends well acquainted with the neighbourhood assures me that he had traced it as much as five miles in the direction of Tintern and Chepstow. It looks as though it were designed for pack-horses, carrying charcoal and other articles to and from the neighbourhood of Coleford. Another friend, who has resided in this district during many years, tells me that he remembers the same road continued on the Redbrook side of the river, and paved in a similar manner. Near the top of Penalt, we turned off through the solitary churchyard, over the hill, whence we again obtained a noble prospect of the vale of Monmouth, and so descending by Troy House, an old seat of the Herberts, built by Inigo Jones, and now belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, reached Monmouth again to a late but truly hospitable dinner.

There can be little doubt that the furnaces which produced the immense quantity of scoriae that cover the country round Redbrook were fed with the ore from the neighbouring Scowles. The Scowles we visited are in the mountain limestone, which skirts the coal field of the Forest of Dean. The Great and Little Dowards are capped by this rock, resting on old red sandstone, and it is in the mountain limestone that the iron ore is here found, and it probably furnished no inconsiderable portion of the cinders which are spread so thickly over the country to the north of the Wye between Monmouth and Bridstow. On the side





KING ARTHUR'S HALL, GREAT DOWARD.

of the Great Doward is still seen the entrance to one of the ancient iron mines, to which tradition has given the name of King Arthur's Hall. There were no doubt old legends which connected the spot with the history of the fabulous British hero, and some of our topographers have alluded to them without condescending to give them a place in their works; but our English peasantry are beginning to feel a sort of reluctance to repeat such legends to those who they think belong to a better informed class of society, and all that we can now obtain from them is that the caverns to which this is the entrance are said to have been resorted to "in the troubled times," and that it is confidently believed that a great chest full of treasure is concealed in the bottom of one of them. The accompanying sketch represents the entrance to King Arthur's Hall. It is, in fact, the entrance (or entrances) to an extensive series of chambers which have been made by the extraction of the iron ore, and which at present are much clogged up near the mouth, but they are said to extend to a very great depth underground. I am told that within the last twenty years a considerable quantity of iron "mine" has been obtained at a few hundred yards from this place, and much of it still remains in heaps not far from the banks of the Wye, in the wood above New Weir.\*

\* I am informed that the ruined walls at the New Weir are the remains of works of quite a modern date, in existence and full operation within the present century.

The district of the Dowards lies in the bend of the river between Whitchurch and Ganarew. On the boundary where these two parishes join, in a meadow on the right hand of the road to Monmouth, where the surface presents considerable inequality, I am informed that traces of a Roman villa have been found, but it has not been explored. At Lydbrook, a little further up the river, a large quantity of Roman coins were found in the beginning of 1848 by some men quarrying sandstone. Those which were preserved and examined were chiefly of Gallienus, Victorinus, and Claudius Gothicus. Nearer to Goodrich, on Copped-Wood hill, about the year 1817, a large collection of coins of the lower empire was dug up. The name of Walford, which is borne by the village on the river below Goodrich castle, seems to indicate the existence of perhaps Roman buildings adjacent to the ford, which in Saxon times may have taken its name from the walls that remained. The cinders occur very abundantly about Whitchurch and Goodrich; they are strewed over the surface of the fields, and if we dig a very little depth we find in many places a thick and apparently a deep bed of them. They are found in the fields on both sides of the road till we arrive at Weir End, in the parish of Bridstow, where they are abundant by the river side. They occur also in many places in the same parish. The antiquity of these cinders is proved not only by the coins and broken pottery found among them, but by the circum-

stance that there is scarcely anywhere a trace of any buildings connected with them; and it is worth observing, that very considerable deposits, if not the greatest known, occupy sites where there was no opportunity of water being made available as a moving power. In the parish of Peterstow there is a little valley running down from the farm called the Flann, behind the church, in which cinders are found, and here a little stream was available; but the most remarkable deposit remained at Cinder Grove (also in the parish of Peterstow) within the last fifty or sixty years, from which many thousand tons were subsequently removed for the purpose of re-smelting. The site occupies a field of several acres, distinguishable from all around by its rich black mould, abounding with cinders, with traces of charcoal sticking in and incorporated with them. I was shown two coins in good condition, one of which was of the Emperor Philip (A.D. 244—249). To the east of Ross, on the opposite side from Bridstow, immense masses of Roman scoriæ are found at Weston under Penyard, the site of the Roman town of Ariconium, which must have been a city of iron-workers, and surrounded by forges. I am told that the floors of some of the forges have been discovered. Many of the cinders I gathered at this spot appeared to me to be of a lighter kind than those I had observed in other places, so that it might be here that the iron went through the last process of preparation, which I believe is now called the finery. I have not been

able to ascertain how far to the north of the river the beds of cinders extend; but they are seen plentifully in the parish of Tretire, where also, to my knowledge, one Roman coin at least has been found. Cinders occur likewise in abundance in the parishes of Llangarran, Hentland, and St. Weonards.

In the diminutive but very old church of Tretire I met with one of the most curious memorials I had yet seen of the Roman occupation of this district, perhaps one of the most remarkable monuments of its kind in the country. The sequestered village of Tretire is the residence of a well-known and excellent antiquary, the Rev. John Webb, F.S.A., to whose care we owe the preservation of this monument, which is represented in the accompanying cut. The small parish of Tretire contains two churches, from one of which, called Michael church, this article, which, in its present form, has been a holy-water stoup, was taken some years ago, when the church was repaired. Mr. Webb informs me that he had one day observed it lying at the door of a cottage inhabited by the clerk, and on inquiry learnt that it had been kept behind the church door time out of mind as an article of no use, except to the village doctress, who was skilled in preparing simples, and occasionally took it out when she wanted to pound her herbs. She used it in fact as a mortar. Mr. Webb imagined at first that it was the rude capital of a pillar, having a square hole cut in the top, and he thought he



ROMAN ALTAR USED AS A STOUP, TRETIRE CHURCH.



perceived the remains of the shaft below; but on nearer inspection he saw that it had an inscription on the front, and as he conjectured at once that it had been used as a stoup for holy-water at the entrance of the church, he caused it to be removed for security to Tretire, where it now stands in the north corner of the chancel on the right hand of the communion table. It had been broken, and the upper part only was first found, but Mr. Webb subsequently discovered the other part, and the two have been now properly joined together.\*

It has been hitherto supposed by those who had seen this monument, that the inscription was a Christian dedication, and they read the first words—the latter part of the first line has been chipped away—as DEO TRIVNI; but I think it would not be easy to point out an example of this formula in a Christian inscription of the middle ages. To those well acquainted with this particular class of antiquities this monument presents the unmistakeable characteristics of a Roman altar. The inscription must be read as follows:—

DEO TRIV . . .

BECCICVS DON

AVIT ARAM

The mutilation of the name of the deity is unfortunate,

\* The dimensions of this altar, in its present form of a stoup, are: the entire height, rather more than 29 inches; length of the shaft, 17 inches; circumference of the shaft, 30 inches; width at the top,

but the most probable conjecture seems to me to be that which explains it as *Deo Trivii*, to the god of the cross-roads. There were among the ancients many deities who presided over the roads, and it is very natural that in such a district as this the roads should be placed under their protection. I think I have read of an inscription to a *DEO BIVII*; at Mayence, as we are informed by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, there is an altar dedicated to the Bivii, Trivii, and Quadrivii, that is, to the deities who presided over those descriptions of roads, by a centurion of the twenty-second legion; and another *GENIO DEVII*, to the god who presided over the bye-ways; and an altar was found at Gretabridge, in Yorkshire, dedicated *DEO QVI VIAS ET SEMITAS COMMENTVS EST.* *Dedit aram* and *donavit aram*, are usual forms of dedication of Roman altars; an instance is given in Gruter (vol. i. p. dxxvii. No. 2), in which both are combined, *dedit donavitque*. Some ecclesiastic of the middle ages, in want of material for a holy-water stoup, found this altar, and caused it to be cut into its present form, and the workman, caring little for the inscription, erased the final *m* of the word *aram*, and the latter letters of the name of the divinity to whom it was dedicated, with his tool. I think it is the only instance in this country where a Roman altar has thus been adopted for any

15 inches, by 7 inches across; width and breadth of the base,  $16\frac{1}{4}$  inches, by 10. At the top there are two straight grooves, one on each side the basin which has been cut into the altar.

purpose connected with Christian worship; but Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea*, has pointed out a similar use of a Roman altar, originally dedicated to Jupiter, but since formed into a baptismal font, at Halinghen, in the Pas de Calais (France).

A very slight examination of the cinders found in the localities we are describing is sufficient to convince us that the Romans smelted their ore imperfectly, and so much iron is left in them, that it has been often found profitable in modern times to re-smelt the old scoriae; and we learn from the antiquary, Thomas Hearne, that at the beginning of the last century the cinders in the Forest of Dean, which were then commonly called Roman cinders, were thus committed a second time to the furnace, and he tells us they made "the best sow iron in the world." "And," he adds, "not only in the Forest of Dean and thereabouts, but even as high [up the Severn] as Worcester, there are such large and infinite quantities of these cinders, some in vast mounts above ground, as will supply the iron works some hundreds of years." In the local records, we find that these cinders at Worcester were dug up for re-smelting at least as early as the middle of the seventeenth century;\* and a Worcestershire traveller and writer named Yarranton, at the end of that century, describes the floors of the

\* See the interesting little volume by Mr. John Noake, of Worcester, entitled "Worcester in Olden Times," p. 196.

Roman furnaces as having been discovered there in his time.\*

The neighbourhood of Worcester appears thus to have

\* Mr. Yarranton's account of the cinder district, in his book entitled "Improvement by Sea and Land," published in 1698, is curious enough to be given entire, for it not only shows us how much these remains attracted attention in the seventeenth century, but it furnishes additional evidence of their being the work of the Romans. He says, "It is evident that iron was in England a 1000 years ago, by those great heaps of cinders formerly made of ironstone, they being the offal (or waste) thrown out of the foot blasts by the Romans; they then having no works to go by water, to drive bellowes, but all by the foot blast; and at present great oaks are growing upon the tops of these cinder heaps, and monies continually is found amongst these cinders; but such as is found is all of the Roman coyn; most of which monies is copper; very little found of late dayes that is silver; and this offal of the foot blast, by the Romans then cast by, doth at present make the best and most profitable iron in England; it being mixt with some ironstone of the Forest of Dean; and there hath been, and still is, vast quantities of this sort of iron cinders in the counties of Monmouth, Hereford, and Gloucester; and about 28 years since, Mr. Yarranton found out a vast quantity of Roman cinders near the walls of the city of Worcester, from whence he and others carried away many thousand tons or loads up the river of Severn, unto their iron furnaces, to be melted down into iron, with a mixture of the Forest of Dean ironstone; and within 100 yards of the walls of the city of Worcester there was dug up one of the hearths of the Roman foot blasts; it being then firm, and in order, and was 7 feet deep in the earth; and by the side of the work there was found out a pot of Roman coine, to the quantity of a peck; some of which was presented to Sir Dugdale, and part thereof is now in the king's closet; by all which circumstances it clerly appears that the Romans made iron in England, and as far up the river Severn as the city of Worcester, where as yet there are vast quantities remaining."

been under the Romans a district of iron works and forges subordinate to the great iron district of the Forest of Dean. We may trace the iron district still further. A very curious early legend, which is embodied in Capgrave's life of St. Egwin, represents the town which occupied the site of the present Alchester, and which the Romans called Alauna, as being inhabited entirely by smiths and filled with smithies. A saint, he tells us, went to convert these wicked people to the light of the Gospel; but, instead of listening to him, he no sooner began to preach than they all commenced beating with their hammers on the anvils, and produced such a terrible noise that he might as well have preached to the tempest. The saint was indignant at this uncourteous reception, and, before he left them, he raised up his hands to heaven, and in bitterness of spirit invoked a curse on them and on their occupation. In an instant the town was swallowed up by the earth; and from that time, says the narrator, no one could ever exercise the calling of a smith in that place successfully or profitably.\* The writer tells us, as a proof of the truth of his story, that in his time, when the inhabitants of Alchester dug

\* *Contra artem fabrilem castri illius Dominum imprecatus est; et ecce subito castrum ipsum terra absorbuit, ita quod novo super veteri qualitercumque redicato usque in hodiernum diem in constructione novarum domorum in fundamentis antiqua aedificia reperiuntur. Nunquam enim postea in loco illo aliquis artem fabrilem recte exercuit, nec aliquis eam exercere volens ibi vigere potuit.* *Capgrave's Nova Legenda Angliae*, in the life of St. Egwin.

foundations for new houses, they found underground the houses of the ancient city. The antiquities of this place have not been explored in recent times, but it appears that the curse of the preacher has ceased to weigh upon it, for I have ascertained that there are at this day four smiths in Alcester, who all appear to be flourishing.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN CITIES ON THE WELSH BORDER,  
ARICONIUM AND MAGNA.

THE road from Ross to Gloucester, which soon afterwards becomes so remarkably picturesque, is without interest during the first three or four miles. The only object that attracts our attention is the hill of Penyard, which rises boldly on the right, and has, like most of the hill-tops in this part of the country, an ancient encampment, or, at least, ancient intrenchments, on its summit. About three miles from Ross we turn off on the left along a little green country-lane, which leads us immediately up a gentle elevation, that sinks rather more abruptly on the south-east, where its foot is watered by a small brook. Fifteen centuries ago this slightly elevated ground was covered with a flourishing town, from which several roads branched off to different parts of the country. The fields and hedgerows which have taken the place occupied once by busy streets and joyous hearths have nothing in appearance to distinguish them from those of the country around; yet the peasantry still look with a certain degree of reverence on the spot, and they can tell mysterious stories of the

vengeance which fell upon that ancient town and its inhabitants. If you enter the first cottage that presents itself hard by in the village of Weston, and ask the inmates the way to the old town, they will reply without hesitation, “What, sir, the town that was beaten down, and all the people killed?” and they will at once point you out the site, and tell you that the field sloping down to the brook, which is called Killington meadow, was so named because the blood ran down there from the people who were *killed*, and that the neighbouring mansion of Bolitree received its name because it was built out of the *belly* of the town. Such derivations may draw a smile from the reader, yet they are, to say the least, quite as good as a large proportion of those which have been too often proposed by learned antiquaries. In describing this same neighbourhood, Fosbroke, who imagined that he met the victorious Roman proprietor Ostorius Seapula on the top of every hill, gravely assures us that Oister Hill, the name of an eminence between this and Hereford, was derived from Ostorius, and that the name of Caplar Wood, the site of extensive entrenchments, is only a corruption of Seapula!

For a long time there was a Roman town in this part of Britain, named Ariconium, completely lost, and the old antiquaries were entirely thrown out in their reckonings by their ignorance of its site. Horsley was the first who, with his characteristic acuteness, determined that it must have stood somewhere about Ross; but, while his conjecture

tures as to the exact locality fell first upon one spot and then upon another, he was totally ignorant that, close within the range of his conjectures, on the bank I have just been describing, an extensive thicket of briars and brushwood only partially covered from view the broken walls and the rubbish of the very Ariconium of which he was in search. Such was the condition of the old town at Weston-under-Penyard in the middle of the last century. Soon after that period the proprietor of the estate, a Mr. Meyrick, determined to clear the ground and turn it into cultivation, and when he came to stub up the bushes he found some of the walls even of the houses standing above ground. All these were cleared away, not without considerable difficulty, and in the course of the clearing great quantities of antiquities of all sorts are understood to have been found, such as coins, in abundance, and all the other articles usually met with on Roman sites, and the workmen came upon walls of buildings, tessellated pavements, and vaulted chambers, in which latter they are said to have found stores of wheat, black as though charred by fire. All these remains that were near the surface were destroyed, and the antiquities which might have enriched some local museum, appear to have been scattered abroad and lost.

The position of Ariconium affords a remarkable proof of the skill with which the Romans chose their sites. From the fields where the town stood the extensive pro

spect around is quite extraordinary, when we consider their slight elevation above the level of the country immediately adjacent. Westwardly are seen the hill of Penyard and the more distant heights of the Forest of Dean, while eastward from the south to the north the rich plains of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire are spread out as in an amphitheatre. The site of the Roman town is called Bury hill, or Rose hill—the former appears to be the more popular, indeed almost the only, name by which it is known to the peasantry, who will, however, tell you that the ancient city was named Rose, and that when it was “beaten down,” and its inhabitants slain, people built the town of Ross instead, and transferred the name thither. It is not very easy to say what was the origin of this story. The place can hardly be said to have been explored by antiquaries; but Roman antiquities are often turned up by the plough, and Roman coins are so plentiful that they may be procured of almost any of the cottagers. I was told that a gentleman of the neighbourhood, riding across one of the fields, had recently picked up a rather large Roman bronze statuette; finding it somewhat cumbrous, he put it up in the fork of a tree, intending to take it as he returned, but somebody had discovered it in the interval and carried it away. The present possessor of the land is Mr. Palmer of Bolitree, close to the site of the town, called Aske farm, perhaps from the ashes or cinders in the neighbourhood. I am not aware whether Mr. Palmer has collected any antiquities

found here. One of his men, whom we questioned on the subject, could give us no further information than that he knew such things were found, and he remembered that about twenty years ago, when they were digging a trench in the field where the old town stood, the labourers came upon walls and foundations of buildings. The gentle slope of the ground on the western side of the site of the town, towards Penyard, is sometimes called Cinder Hill, and we have only to turn up the surface to discover that it consists of an immense mass of iron scoriae. It is evident that the Roman town of Ariconium possessed very extensive forges and smelting furnaces, and that their cinders were thrown out on this side of the town close to the walls. No doubt the side of the hill was here originally more abrupt, until it was filled up by these materials. The floors of forges are said to have been discovered in the neighbourhood ; but, as I have just stated, the place is almost unknown to antiquaries.\*

Ariconium was the centre of several great roads. It was approached from Gloucester (*Glevum*) by a road which seems to have run almost in the same line as the present road from that city to Ross. The road to Mon-

\* I am told that at Hartleton, near Linton, a mile and a half to the north-east of Bolitree, there are remains of the hearth of a very ancient small iron smelting-furnace, but it is uncertain whether it belongs to a period so remote as that of the Romans. Forges and steel-mills, and probably small smelting-furnaces, have been in operation in the parish of Linton till within the last century.

mouth (*Blestium*) was probably carried through the valley or pass to the south of Penyard, and crossed the Wye perhaps below Goodrich castle. This was the route chosen, for some reason or other, by the Roman Itineraries, in their directions for travelling northward along the Welsh border: beginning with Gloucester (*Glevum*), they come first to Weston (*Ariconium*), and thence to Monmouth (*Blestium*), whence their road continued southwardly to Usk (*Burrium*), then turned northwardly to Abergavenny (*Gobannium*), and so back into Herefordshire to Kenchester (*Magna*), proceeding thence in a direct course northwardly towards Shrewsbury. There was, however, a direct road from Weston to Kenchester, which, it is said, may be still traced in some places, and which is supposed to have run under Caplar Hill, and so by Fownhope and Mordiford. Camps, villas, and perhaps tumuli, may be traced along its course. But the visitor who desires now to proceed from Ariconium to the sister city of Magna must take the high road from Ross to Hereford.

It would not be easy to point out a finer ride than that furnished by the road last mentioned, and to those who wish to enjoy it fully, and have not the leisure to proceed slowly and take the country in detail, I would recommend a seat on the top of the stage-coach. After passing Wilton Bridge, the road soon gains more elevated ground, which it keeps during a great part of the journey. As we proceed through the parish of Peterstow we obtain rich

near views, and the scenery becomes still more interesting in the neighbourhood of Pengethley. Further on, at a cross road, is a place called David's Grave, which is still an object of superstitious dread among the country people. It is said that many years ago—probably more than a century—a noted highwayman of that name was executed and buried here; the little lane turning to the left has the somewhat ominous name of Bier-less Lane, which it is pretended to have received from the circumstance that the body of this notorious offender was brought along it to his grave *without a bier*. The peasantry say that at night David's ghost appears in a little wood at the corner of the road, and, if he does no greater mischief, it is firmly believed that he delights in frightening horses, and that waggons and carts are frequently overturned or break down by his agency. This seems to receive a kind of confirmation from the circumstance observed by many who are no believers in ghosts, that when such accidents occur it is almost sure to be on this spot.

Near this place, to the left of the road, the traveller may make his way through green lanes to Gillow, where, in a rather low situation, an old moated mansion, now occupied as a farm-house, is well worthy of his attention. The present house, which has undergone comparatively very little alteration, and some parts of it are much out of repair, is believed to have been built at the beginning of the fifteenth century, on the site of an older religious founda-

tion, the chapel of which is partly preserved in one corner of the building. In the cellar is a rudely sculptured figure in stone, which is supposed to have belonged to this older foundation. The moat still exists on two sides; and the house, which is built round a small court, presents in front, with its entrance tower approached by the old bridge, a very picturesque object. The interesting character of this building will well reward the short deviation from the road which is required to reach it.

Continuing his way along the road, the wanderer will soon reach the village of Much (*i.e.* Great) Birch, where he will be again tempted to diverge by a variety of interesting objects and spots, the names of which cannot but be attractive to the antiquarian visitor. A wooded elevation to the right is called Athelstan's wood. A stream winds along the valley, on the other side of which is the village of Aconbury, and above is seen Aconbury Hill, a very lofty eminence, with a strongly entrenched area at the top. Here and there about the neighbourhood are found tumuli, or, as they are usually called, tumps, some of them of considerable dimensions. These memorials of ancient peoples are often traced by their Anglo-Saxon name of *low* entering in composition into the name of the place. Thus we have Gillow, already mentioned; Callow, on the other side of Aconbury Hill; and Wormlow, with its tump, near Much Birch. The visitor who is inclined for a longer excursion may walk across to the Wye, and pass it to visit the

interesting country about Fownhope and Mordiford, the latter the legendary haunt in ancient times of a dreadful dragon, whose portraiture is popularly supposed to have been represented on the exterior eastern wall of the chancel of the church, but now defaced. The interesting camp on Dynedor Hill is also worth a visit, especially if the traveller be an antiquary. But, whether antiquary or not, he will not fail to be charmed with the varied beauty of the country. Whoever loves country lanes I would recommend him to Herefordshire, the land of England's national tree, the oak, which here grows spontaneously, and forms with the hazel the staple of the hedge-rows. These often rise wild and lofty, and inclose grassy lanes that are bordered with an infinite variety of flowers. The hedges themselves are platted with honeysuckle and roses, and especially with the wild clematis, or, as it is popularly termed, traveller's joy, which grows everywhere in great luxuriance, and where the hedge is backed by a wood it is often seen mounting in immense masses of white blossom to the tops of the trees.

After passing Much Birch the present road winds round the thickly-wooded hill of Aconbury, and the scenery becomes finer and finer, until a wonderful prospect bursts upon our view. Below are the rich valleys spreading towards the border, while beyond them hill rises above hill, till the whole is crowned by the distant Welsh mountains, among which the Holy Mountain, the Sugar-Loaf,

and the noble terrace of the Hatteral Hill or Black Mountain, and other hills of Brecknockshire and Radnorshire, form the most prominent objects. Immediately afterwards, as we turn northward, a view equally pleasing and not less extensive opens upon us where the northern and eastern districts of Herefordshire are spread out before us in one vast panorama, with the city of Hereford in the plain below ; on the east the Malvern hills, and more northwardly the Clee hills, Caer Caradoc, and other Shropshire hills, forming the extreme distance.

Hereford is an interesting old town, and, in spite of modern alterations, contains still some good specimens of the timber houses which formerly gave so picturesque an effect to our streets. The city and the whole district around are rich in reminiscences of Anglo-Saxon history. The extensive entrenchments called Sutton Walls, about five miles to the northward of Hereford, are supposed to mark the site of the great palace of the Mercian Offa, the scene of the treacherous murder of the sainted King Ethelbert ; and the neighbouring church of Marden, on the banks of the Lug, is said to have been built over the spot where the murdered king was first buried. A spring here is still called St. Ethelbert's Well. At this time we are told that the site of Hereford was a solitary and barren spot, called from its appearance Fearn-lega, which is explained by the Latin writer of the Legend as meaning *saltus filicis*, the plain covered with fern. Hither, however, the body of

Ethelbert was translated, and a handsome church was built over his grave, the precursor of the present cathedral. It was the place where the Saxon armies usually crossed the Wye on their way to invade Wales, and hence the city was named Hereford, the ford of the army. Such is the legendary account of the origin of Hereford. But it is more likely that Ethelbert was buried here, because it was already a town of some importance; and it perhaps arose out of the ruin of the Roman city of Magna, as Shrewsbury rose out of Uriconium. It is somewhat remarkable that in the Hereford local museum there is a defaced Roman altar, or at least one without any legible inscription, which was discovered not long ago in excavations under one of the streets of the city; but it is impossible to decide whether this came from a Roman settlement on this spot, or whether it had been brought at an early period from Kenchester. It may be observed, in passing, that the Hereford museum, which is not undeserving of a visit, is honourable to the city for having established it, but not so creditable as could be wished in its present state of maintenance. Local museums of this kind, if well regulated and zealously supported, would be of the utmost importance to our national history.

But we must pursue our way to Kenchester. We leave Hereford by its western suburb, through what was anciently called the Friars' Gate, and the high road lies nearly parallel to the course of the river Wye. About a mile

from the town, in a corner of the road, stand the interesting remains of a cross built by Bishop Charleton, in the middle of the fourteenth century. The objects along the remainder of our road are not striking. A little way to the south, at Swineshill, is an elevated knoll with a camp on the top. Further on, to the right of and close by the road, is a small piece of water called Sugwas pool, which varies much in extent at different seasons of the year. It is the tradition of the place that this pool occupies the site of an ancient city, which was destroyed and submerged by an earthquake. The Bishops of Hereford had anciently a palace at Sugwas, the traces of which have long disappeared. Not very far beyond the pool of Sugwas we turn out of the high road by a lane to the left, which conducts us at the distance of about a mile to the site of the Roman city of **Magna** at Kenchester.

The site of the ancient city of Kenchester is, in many respects, not unlike that of Weston-under-Penyard. It occupies a gentle elevation, enjoying an extensive prospect around, and it is commanded at about the same distance as Penyard from Weston by a lofty hill to the north-east called Creden Hill, crowned by an entrenchment, within which Roman coins and other remains are frequently found. A small brook runs beneath the site of the town, which is about the same distance from the Wye as Weston. The accompanying sketch was taken just within the south-western boundary of the area of the ancient city, at a time



SITE OF THE ROMAN TOWN AT KENCHESTER.



when the extensive field which occupied a large portion of it was covered with a ripe crop of wheat, and the words of the old poet came forcibly to my mind,—“*jam seges est ubi Troja fuit.*” The application was here more literal than it probably ever was to the site of Troy. In the sketch, Creden hill, with its mantle of trees, amid which the entrenchment appears distinctly defined, is seen to the right. To the left of it is Brinsop, with the hills above Wormesley behind; before which the hill of Foxley advances to the extreme left.

Till recently, the area of the Roman town at Kenchester could be distinctly traced by the remains of its walls. They formed a very irregular hexagon, inclosing between twenty and thirty acres. At present very little of the wall remains, and that is found chiefly on the north-west side of the area. It is faced with small stones, arranged in what is technically termed herring-bone work, and cemented together with mortar, which is inferior to that usually found in the town walls of the Romans. In this respect it resembles Silchester, and some other Roman remains in this country. The ancient defences of the town are very strongly marked in the garden of a cottager at the side of the high road at the western extremity of the site.

From what we can learn of the progress of dilapidation, it is probable that some four or five centuries ago the skeleton of the Roman town might have been traced above-

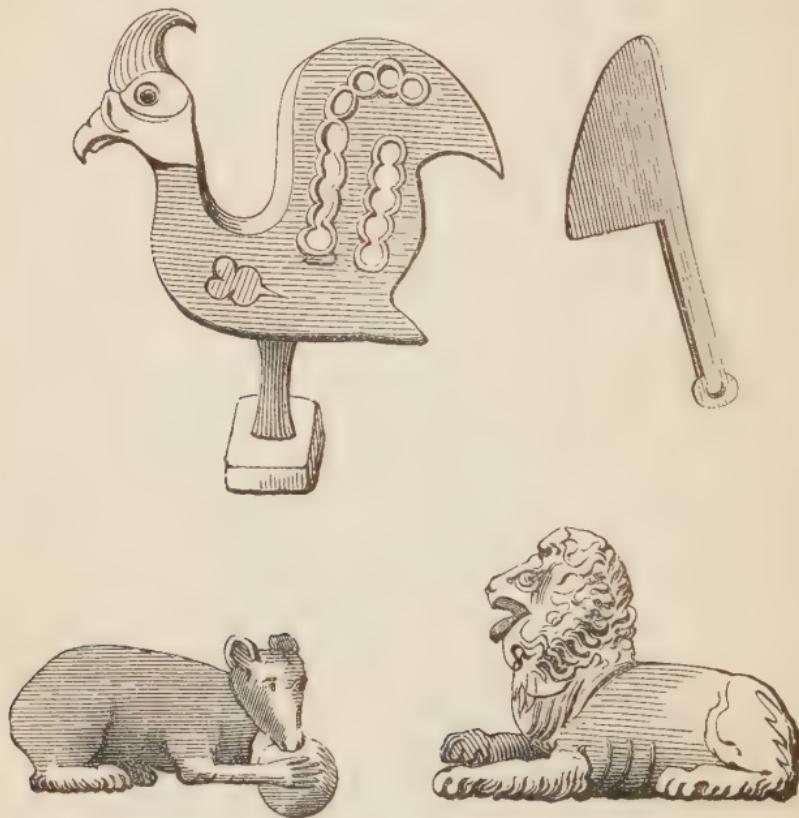
ground. In the reign of Henry VIII. the "laborious" Leland gives the following account of it :

"Kenchester standeth a iii. myles or more above Hereford, upward on the same side of the ryver that Hereford doth; yet is yt almost a myle fro the ripe (*bank*) of Wy. This towne is far more auncyent then Hereford, and was celebrated yn the Romaynes tyme, as appereth by many thinges, and especyally by antique mony of the Caesars, very often found withyn the towne, and in plowghyng abowt; the which the people ther cawlld dwarfes mony. The cumpace of Kenchestr hath bene by estimation as much as Hereford, excepting the castel, the which at Hereford ys very spatiouse. Peaces of the walles and turrets yet appere, *prope fundamenta*, and more should have appered, if the people of Hereford town and other ther-abowt had not yn tymes paste pulled down muche and pyked owt of the best for theire buildinges. Of late, one Mr. Brainton, buylding a place at Stratton, a myle from Kenchestr, dyd fetch much tayled (*hewn*) stone there toward his buildinges . . . By lykelyhod men of old tyme went by Kenchestr to Hay, and so to Breknoc and Cair Mardyn. The place wher the town was ys al overgrownen with brambles, hasylls, and lyke shrubbes. Nevertheless, here and there yet appere ruines of buyldinges, of the which the folisch people cawlle one the king of feyres' (*fairies*) chayre. Ther hath ben found *nostra memoria lateres Britannici*; *et ex eisdem canales, aquæ*

*ductus, tesselata pavimenta, fragmentum catenulae aureae,  
calcar ex argento, byside other strawng thinges. To be  
short, of the decaye of Kenchestrre Hereford rose and flo-  
rishyd."*

Since Leland's time the site of the old town was long celebrated for the remains which marked the spot, and it is still remarkable for the great number of coins and other small articles of antiquity which are continually found scattered about. Of these a considerable number are in the possession of the present proprietor and occupier of the land, Mr. Hardwick, although his best antiquities are understood to have been given to the late Dean of Hereford, after whose death they are said to have been sold by auction, and they appear to be scattered abroad, and perhaps mostly lost. Mr. Hardwick has still a considerable quantity of coins, a few curious fragments of pottery and glass, with rings, beads, pins, keys, &c. including a little rude bronze of a stag, and a knife-handle representing the figure of a greyhound, and bearing a close resemblance to one of which an engraving is given in Mr. Roach Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*. A few antiquities from Kenchester were exhibited by Mr. R. Johnson, of Hereford, at the Worcester congress of the British Archaeological Association, among which the most curious was a Roman oculist's stamp, explained by Mr. Roach Smith in a paper on these antiquities in the *Journal of the Association*. A few other Kenchester antiquities

are now in the possession of Mr. W. Fennell, of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and were shewn to me recently by Mr. Roach Smith. The most curious of these were the three little bronzes of a mouse, a lion, and cock, figured (in their real size) in the annexed cuts, together with a diminutive



bronze of a *cultrum* or chopper, in the possession of Mr. Hardwick, which is here drawn to half its real size. It is the fashion to call these little figures, which seem to have been found rather plentifully about Kenchester, *ex-votos*, or

votive offerings. A little bronze figure of an axe, found in excavating the villa at Woodchester in Gloucestershire, was thus designated by Lysons. But I consider it a far more probable supposition that they are merely children's toys. Every antiquary knows how general was the use of bronze among the Romans, and there is a rudeness of form about these figures which resembles very much the character of the leaden children's toys in modern times.

The piece of masonry called in Leland's time "the king of fairies' chair," was still standing at the beginning of the present century, and a view of it is given in one of the plates to the volume on Herefordshire in the *Beauties of England and Wales*. An incorrect sketch of it had previously been given in Stukeley's *Itinerary*. It consisted of a mass of brickwork, closely resembling a part of the "Jury Wall" at Leicester, forming an arch or vault, with a niche over it, and presenting somewhat the appearance of a chair. An old man living in a cottage by the road-side, close to the remains of the ancient town walls, told us that he remembered this monument well. He said that some forty years ago, he thinks, the young men of the village, who were then rather a wild set of fellows, went one day, either in frolic or in consequence of a wager, and undermined the "chair." After it was thrown down, the farmer caused it to be broken up and cleared away.

The same informant told me that he remembered stones having been dug up, with old-looking letters upon them,

but, he added with a significant shake of the head, “they meant nought.” One inscription found here, and that imperfect, has been recorded; it was part of a dedication to the Emperor Numerianus, all that remained being the words

IMP C MAR AVR NVMERIANO.

Numerianus was the brother of Carinus, and reigned jointly with him about two years. This, I believe, is the only memorial of him yet found in Britain, and inscriptions bearing his name are very rare on the continent.

By the liberal permission of Mr. Hardwick, some gentlemen of Hereford, assembled by Dean Merewether, proceeded some five or six years ago to excavate on the site of the ancient city at Kenchester; but they seem to have gone to work without any system, and to have had no particular reason for digging a hole in one place more than in another. They came, however, upon a coarse tessellated pavement, one of those which no doubt lie thickly scattered under the soil, and it was determined to carry it off entire, and deposit it in the museum of the Philosophical Institution at Hereford. But the Herefordshire peasantry have their own peculiar notions about such monuments, and, confident that an immense treasure lay concealed beneath it, they determined to be beforehand with the learned antiquaries in carrying off the prize. Accordingly, during the night, when it was left unprotected, a party of them came with

pickaxes and other implements and broke it all to pieces. A few fragments only reached the museum.\* The other articles found during these diggings are said to have gone into the private collection of the Dean, with which they were eventually dispersed. The money collected for the purpose was soon expended, and the diggers somewhat unhandsomely left to Mr. Hardwick the task of filling up the holes they had made. In a certain state of the crops I am told that the lines of the houses and streets of the Roman town may be distinctly traced.

\* "The tessellated pavement lately discovered by the Dean of Hereford and other gentlemen in making researches at Kenchester, in this county, was, when found, about thirteen feet long and two wide, but a very considerable portion of it was destroyed on Sunday night. It is supposed to have formed the border of an apartment. The tesserae are from three-eighths to half an inch square, and are of a white, red, blue, and dark colour. The white appear to consist of lava, and they are all susceptible of a very fine polish. They were placed in the usual description of concrete, the composition of which has not to this day been fully ascertained. Mr. Jennings, sculptor, has, by direction of the Dean, securely arranged in plaster of paris about six feet square of the border of the pavement, and we understand that it will be placed among other interesting relics of antiquity in the Philosophical Institution."—*Hereford Journal.* Tessellated pavements and hypocausts were not unfrequently found in past times during the operations of the labourer on the site of Kenchester.

## CHAPTER III.

## ANCIENT VERULAMIUM.

THERE is scarcely any more agreeable excursion from London than to the interesting old town of St. Alban's. It may now be approached by several different roads; but, for those who are not hurried, the one to be preferred is the old coach road, along which excellent omnibuses still run several times a day. Passing from Islington under Highgate Archway, the traveller's route lies through a broken undulated country, rich and well wooded, and as he approaches Barnet open and extensive prospects present themselves. On this side, the town of Barnet crowns an eminence, and looking back from the entrance to the main street we cannot fail being struck with the beautiful view down the valley to the south. Barnet is chiefly renowned for its battlefield, on which, on Easter Sunday, 1471, the struggle between the rival houses of York and Lancaster may be considered to have been decided. The country continues fine all the way from Barnet to St. Alban's, and is especially attractive as we pass over a ridge of higher ground about half way between those two towns. The more usual way of proceeding to St. Alban's is now by rail,

and it is approached by two lines, the Great Northern and the North Western. On the former, the visitor must be set down at the Hatfield station, and, if he has time, he may visit the fine Elizabethan mansion of Hatfield House, the seat of the Cecils. An omnibus carries him hence to St. Alban's, a distance of about six miles. If the visitor prefer the North Western Railway, he must leave the line at the Watford station, where also he will find an omnibus for St. Alban's, the distance being somewhat greater than from Hatfield.

St. Alban's itself is a pretty town; its streets are clean and picturesque, and present some good examples of old timber houses, especially about the market place, and the clump of buildings adjacent to the curious old clock-tower. But the great attraction of St. Alban's is its noble abbey church. The most casual visitor, when he looks at the walls of this imposing edifice, especially on the south side, where it is more easily observed, will be struck with the extraordinary character of the masonry. He has been accustomed to see early mediæval buildings constructed entirely of stone, but here the walls are composed of immense numbers of what appear on the outsides as long flat bricks, but which are in reality square. These materials were all taken from the ruins of one of the most celebrated cities of Roman Britain—that of Verulamium. The abbey church of St. Alban's crowns the summit of a gentle eminence or knoll, separated on the south by a small valley

from another low hill which rises very gradually from the bottom, where flows the little stream of the Ver. The buildings of the abbey occupied the side of the hill descending from the church towards the brook, but now very few traces of them except the gateway-tower are left. The visitor, leaving the southern door of the church, must descend over the ancient site of the abbey to the foot of the hill, where he will cross the stream at the mill by a wooden bridge, which leads him to an embanked causeway extending in a perfectly straight line across the valley, and clothed on both sides with a rich crop of brambles and low bushes. When he reaches the far end of this causeway, he stands just on the outside of the walls of ancient Verulamium. He must thence pass through, or rather over, a gate to the left; walk a few paces across the field, and he will find himself in presence of a considerable mass of the wall itself, with the unmistakeable characteristics of Roman masonry, its mortar, and its rows of red bricks, the latter exactly like those which he has already seen in the walls of the abbey church.

This fragment of wall is only seen to advantage from the inside. We are here within the Roman city, on the edge of the valley. By means of the embankment along which we have crossed the valley, the Romans dammed up the water of the river, and thus converted the river itself into an extensive lake, which washed the foot of the city walls. The spot on which we are now standing





ST. ALBAN'S CHURCH FROM VERULAMIUM, WITH THE ANCIENT CAUSEWAY.

furnishes one of the best distant views of the abbey church, and the accompanying sketch shews the course of the embanked causeway. The ground in front was once covered with the lake, the superfluous waters of the river having their outlet at the distant extremity, at the mill, where the river still runs. A piece of the Roman wall bounds the foreground to the right.

Instead of crossing the fields into the interior of the site of Verulamium, we shall understand its form and extent better by retracing our steps to the end of the causeway, and proceeding thence along the road up the bank into a thick copse. This copse for a considerable extent covers the ancient city wall and its foss, and the path runs between them. Large masses of the wall are preserved along a considerable portion of its line on this the south-east side of the town, so considerable, indeed, that a footpath runs continuously along the top of it, which is covered with brushwood. Inside the wall the ground is banked up to it, in an almost regular inclined plane, but it is by no means certain that this is anything more than the accidental accumulation of earth. The wall itself is constructed exactly in the same manner as we have already observed at Pevensey and the Roman fortresses on the south-eastern coast. But the defences of Verulamium are almost the only known instance of a Roman town in this country with a foss outside the walls. When I recently visited this spot, the season was unfavourable for examining

these remains, in consequence of the rank vegetation which had grown over them; but in the accompanying sketch by Mr. Fairholt, who with Mr. Halliwell were my companions, the shrubs and trees have been thinned to shew the wall and foss more distinctly. Winter, or early spring, is the best season for tracing the remains of the city wall.

The copse or grove, so far as it goes, has preserved the wall from destruction to a considerable extent. When we quit it, the defences of the town can only be traced across the ploughed fields by a raised bank which covers the foundation of the wall, and a hollow that marks the site of the foss. A short distance to the westward of the point at which we have now arrived, we reach a road which runs northwardly across the site of the ancient city. This road is cut or worn down deep below the level of the fields, and we can trace in the hedge-bottoms the floors of Roman houses. Following this road we soon arrive at the church of St. Michael, celebrated as the burial-place of the immortal Bacon, whose sculptured monument is itself a worthy object of pilgrimage. The church of St. Michael stands very nearly in the centre of Verulamium; its walls and arches are full of Roman materials, and it is very probable that it stands upon the site of some of the public edifices of the ancient city. Here, again, on the north of the church-yard, the road is much lower than the ground above, and in the steep bank under the hedge we see the



PART OF THE WALL AND FOSS OF VERULAMIUM.



bricks and mortar of the Roman buildings. This road turns down through the adjoining hamlet, and across the bed of the ancient lake, into the town of St. Alban's; westwardly it divides into two, one being the lane we have been previously pursuing, the other running westwardly across the site of Verulamium to Gorhisbury, and near where it quits the site of the city stands another portion of the ancient town wall, called popularly Gorham-block. A few yards along this branch of the road, in the field to the left, stood the theatre of Verulamium.

Verulamium was one of the earliest cities of Britain. It appears to have been founded like Camulodunum (*Colchester*), and perhaps Londinium (*London*), by the British princes who, after Cæsar's invasion, were in alliance with Rome, and learned to imitate the civilisation of Italy. Like those two towns it fell a victim to the avenging arms of Boadicea, and from the circumstances of that event we gather that it had then no fortifications. At this early period Verulamium shared with Camulodunum the honour of possessing a mint, and some of the British coins of the family of Cunobeline bear the name of this town on the reverse, where it is spelt Verlamium. We have very little knowledge of the history of this place during the Roman occupation; but it had been erected into a *municipium* as early as the time of Aulus Plautius, and it seems to have been a city of great celebrity and magnificence, as it figures in the fabulous history of a later period. It appears to have

been stormed and ruined by the Saxon invaders, but the Anglo-Saxon writers have not preserved even a tradition that tends to throw any light on the circumstances of this event: and the town is only accidentally known to us through the Saxon period from its connection with the abbey of St. Alban's.

In the earlier ages of Western Christianity two things were requisite for the foundation of a church,—materials to build it with, and relics to give it sanctity. Both were furnished by an ancient site, the old buildings yielding the materials for construction, while there was generally a burial-place near at hand where the monks could find bones enough to create a saint. Such was the case at Verulamium. Modern discoveries seem to show that the top of the hill where the abbey church now stands was one of the Roman cemeteries. The artificial lake which occupied the space between it and the town appears to have abounded in fish, and this circumstance perhaps induced the Saxon kings of Mercia at an early period after the ruin of the city to erect a palace on its borders, of which the bold earthworks of the inclosure are still visible, below the modern town; it was called Kingsbury, which signified the palace of the king. When these princes were converted to Christianity, a church was built on the adjoining hill, and some of the buildings of the Roman city were demolished to furnish materials. The monks who built it wanted a saint; they found in a then popular Christian

Latin poet, Fortunatus, mention of a man named Alban, who was said to have suffered martyrdom in Britain—

Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert.

The Saxon monks accordingly dug up some Roman bones, declared that they belonged to the martyred body of St. Alban, and built their church upon the spot. Some deni-  
son of the place next proceeded to make a life of the saint, and this has been preserved by the historian Bede, and contains one or two incidents which describe, though im-  
perfectly, the site at that time. After the judge of the  
city (*judex*) had condemned the holy Alban to be be-  
headed, he was taken out of the city, we are told, by the  
executioners, and, being led to execution, he came to a  
river which ran with rapid course between the wall of the  
town and the spot where he was to die. The inhabitants  
of Verulamium had flocked out in such numbers to see the  
execution, that the “bridge” across the river was too  
crowded to give any chance of a passage for Alban and his  
escort; and the saint, leading his executioners down to the  
river, offered up a prayer to Heaven, and the water was  
miraculously divided, and they were thus enabled to pass  
over. They then, “accompanied by the multitude,  
ascended a hill, about five hundred paces (*half a mile*)  
from the town, adorned, or rather clothed, with all kinds  
of flowers, having its sides neither perpendicular nor even  
craggy, but sloping down into a most beautiful plain.”

There can be little doubt that what the writer of the legend meant by the bridge, was the embanked causeway still existing, and probably when the body of the water was confined in the lake, that which was allowed to pass did form a very rapid stream.

In the time of Bede the walls of Verulamium were probably standing in a nearly perfect state. The legend of St. Alban soon received additions, and amongst these is a statement which seems to show that the walls were adorned with slabs of marble and perhaps with inscriptions. After the saint had been executed, we are told, the inhabitants of Verulamium, in order to perpetuate the memory of his disgraceful end, inscribed the history of it on marble, and placed it upon the town walls;\* subsequently, when the citizens were themselves converted to Christianity, they took this down, “and in its place, and over the gates of their walls, they erected square stones, inscribed with memorials of the triumphs of their newly-adopted religion.”

Years after the first building of the church of St. Alban's, the Mercian princes seem to have ceased to frequent Kingsbury, and the church was deserted also and fell into decay. At length, in 790, King Offa, repentant for the murder of King Athelbert, sought to make his peace with heaven by founding a monastery, and fixed upon this site

\* In hujus opprobrium et Christianorum terrorem, ut in antiquo ejus agone habetur, Verolamienses ejus martyrium marmori inscripserunt mœnibusque inseruerunt. *Camden.*

for his purpose. More bones were dug up, and these were miraculously shown to be the same relics of the saint which had been lost since the first church was neglected. The buildings of Verulam again furnished materials, the old church was enlarged, and monastic buildings were added. Over this house a long series of abbots presided, whose history from time to time affords us curious glimpses of what was going on among the ruins of Verulamium. In the time of King Edgar, the king's officers and fishermen, who had the care of the lake and the royal manor, were so troublesome and oppressive to the monks, that the then abbot, Alfric, bought the lake from the crown, and cutting through the dam, at the place where the river now passes, let out the water in order that no king might subsequently be tempted to seize upon it. This man's successor in the abbacy, named Aldred, relieved the monks from another sort of disagreeable neighbours. The fosses and subterranean buildings of the town, which latter appear to have been very extensive, and are described as running even under the water, were the resort of men and women of infamous character, and of robbers from the neighbouring forests; to drive these away, Aldred caused the vaults and passages alluded to to be broken in or filled up with rubbish, and he collected great quantities of tiles and stones with the design of building a new church. To obtain these he appears to have destroyed some of the public buildings. Moreover, we are told, he filled up a great cave

which had once been the abode of a fearful dragon, and which was surrounded by a continuous hill, which was still remaining in the thirteenth century, when the place was known by the name of Wurmenhert.\* The next abbot, Eadmar, followed the example of his predecessor in breaking up the buildings of Verulamium, to collect whole bricks and squared stones for the building of a new church. It is recorded that in doing this he destroyed to the foundations a vast palace which stood in the middle of the city, besides demolishing other buildings, and in his progress he laid open a small closet in one of the walls in which were found some ancient books. Whether books were really found there or not, Eadmar took the occasion to publish a new and improved life of St. Alban, which, to stamp it with authenticity, he declared to be translated from one of them. This abbot, in the course of his labours among the ancient ruins, found urns and amphoræ, and vessels of glass, as well as altars of the ancient gods, and idols (*i. e.* bronzes), and coins. The idols he caused to be broken.† This was

\* Specum quoque profundissimum, monte continuo circumseptum, cum spelunca subterranea, quem quondam draco ingens fecerat et inhabitavit, in loco qui Wurmenhert dicitur, in quantum potuit explauavit, vestigia tamen aeterna habitationis serpentinæ derelinquens. M. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum, p. 40.

† Et cum abbas memoratus profundiora terræ ubi civitatis Verolamii apparuerunt vestigia diligenter perscrutaretur, et antiquos tabulatus lapideos cum tegulis et columnis inveniret, quæ ecclesiæ fabricandæ fuerunt necessaria sibi reservaret quam proposuit sancto martyri Al-

a usual practice in the middle ages, when people believed that the ancient bronzes and sculptures were the work of enchantment, and that the spell could only be destroyed by breaking them. The abbots also found among the ruins engraved gems and cameos, which were preserved to ornament a new shrine for the church. The next abbot, Leofric, who lived in the time of King Athelred, was a charitable man, and sold the materials collected by his predecessors for the benefit of the poor. Of Robert, the eighteenth abbot of St. Alban's, it is recorded that he obtained an order from the king (Stephen) to destroy entirely the remains of the Saxon palace of Kingsbury, which had long been an eyesore to the monks, who were continually injured and oppressed by men who inhabited it under the title of servants of the king. It is probable that before this time the materials which abbot Leofric had sold were bought back, other materials were brought from the same unexhausted source, the ruined city, and with these the present noble church was built. From this time we hear no more of the excavations of the monks on the site of

banio fabricare, invenerunt fossores in fundamentis veterum aedificiorum et concavitatibus subterraneis urceos et amphoras opere fictili et tornacili decenter compositas, vasa quoque vitrea pulverem mortuorum continentia . . . . Inventa sunt insuper fana semiruta, altaria subversa, et idola, et numismatum diversa genera quibus utebantur. Et quæ idola coluerunt antiqui cives Verolamii idololatræ. Quæ omnia ex præcepto abbatis sunt comminuta. M. Paris, p. 41.

Verulamium, and it is probable that it has now presented for several centuries nearly the same appearance as at present.

The city of Verulamium occupied the side of a hill, sloping gently from the south-west to the north-east, where it bordered on the lake. The circuit of the wall forms a long oval, about three quarters of a mile in length, and not quite half a mile broad. The road from London went on the line of the present Kilburn road, through Edgeware, to an intermediate Roman town named *Sulloniacæ*, which is supposed to have stood at Brockley hill, near Elstree; and from thence in the same direct line to Verulamium, passing through the centre of the city. This road was the Watling Street of the Anglo-Saxons, and, as being one of the greatest towns upon it, Verulamium was sometimes called by them Watlingcester. The Watling Street between Edgeware and St. Alban's seems to have been deserted at an early period, probably, as we may gather from allusions in Matthew Paris's *Lives of the Abbots*, because it was infested by banditti from the forest.

The wall of the ancient city, as I have stated before, is accompanied by a deep foss, and in one or two places there is a second foss, apparently intended to strengthen the defences of the gateways. The wall is twelve feet thick, but it is nowhere sufficiently perfect to enable us to judge of its original height. The mortar is composed of lime, small gravel, and coarse sand. The courses of bricks consist of





REMAINS OF THE THEATRE AT VERULAMIUM.

two, three, and four rows, but three is the prevailing number. The wall is believed to have extended all round, but I am by no means satisfied that Verulamium was not, like many other Roman towns, open to the water. In the Saxon invasion it was perhaps taken by surprise; for if it had stood a siege we can hardly suppose but the besiegers would have hit upon the idea of drawing off the water of the lake by cutting the embankment. It is probable, from the condition of the walls, that they were destroyed by the abbots to obtain building materials.

The interior of the town, as may be supposed from its great extent, is divided into a number of fields, some of which are at present laid out as pastures. I am told that at times the traces of streets may still be seen. Excavations in almost any part of the area would no doubt lead to interesting results. No remains of buildings are at present seen above ground; but floors and foundations, as stated before, may be traced in the hedge bottoms. Five years ago, Mr. R. Grove Lowe, of St. Alban's, observing some flints imbedded in mortar on the south-east side of the road leading to Gorhambury, between three and four hundred feet from the church, was tempted to commence an excavation, the result of which was the discovery of the ancient theatre, the lower part of the walls of which remained sufficiently perfect to allow of a plan being made. A notion of their appearance when first uncovered may be formed from the accompanying sketch, taken on the spot by Mr.

Fairholt, who visited St. Alban's during the excavations. Behind the trees in the background is the church of St. Michael; and to the left, above the houses of the adjoining hamlet, is seen the more distant tower of the abbey church. The next cut, also from a subject by Mr. Fairholt, will give a better idea of the condition in which the outer wall was found. After the theatre had been excavated as far as circumstances would allow, the ground was filled in again, and when I recently visited the spot, it was covered with a flourishing crop of wheat. For our knowledge of it, therefore, we must rest satisfied with the excellent description published by Mr. Grove Lowe.

Mr. Lowe states that, with a view to the preparation of a description of Verulamium (in which he had previously believed there were no remains of any structure, except the external defensive walls), his attention was directed in the autumn of 1847 to part of a road, which, till about twenty years ago, was the high road from London to Holyhead, but is now a private road from St. Alban's to Gorhambury, the seat of the Earl of Verulam—perhaps at this point it runs on the ancient Watling-street. He observed four or five flints embedded in mortar in the bank on the north-east side, and, on closer examination, an appearance that the road was, in one spot, actually composed of the foundation of a building. The flints appeared to have formed part of the walls of a road-side house or barn; but finding, on reference to old maps, that no building had for some



PART OF THE WALL OF THE THEATRE, VERULAMIUM.

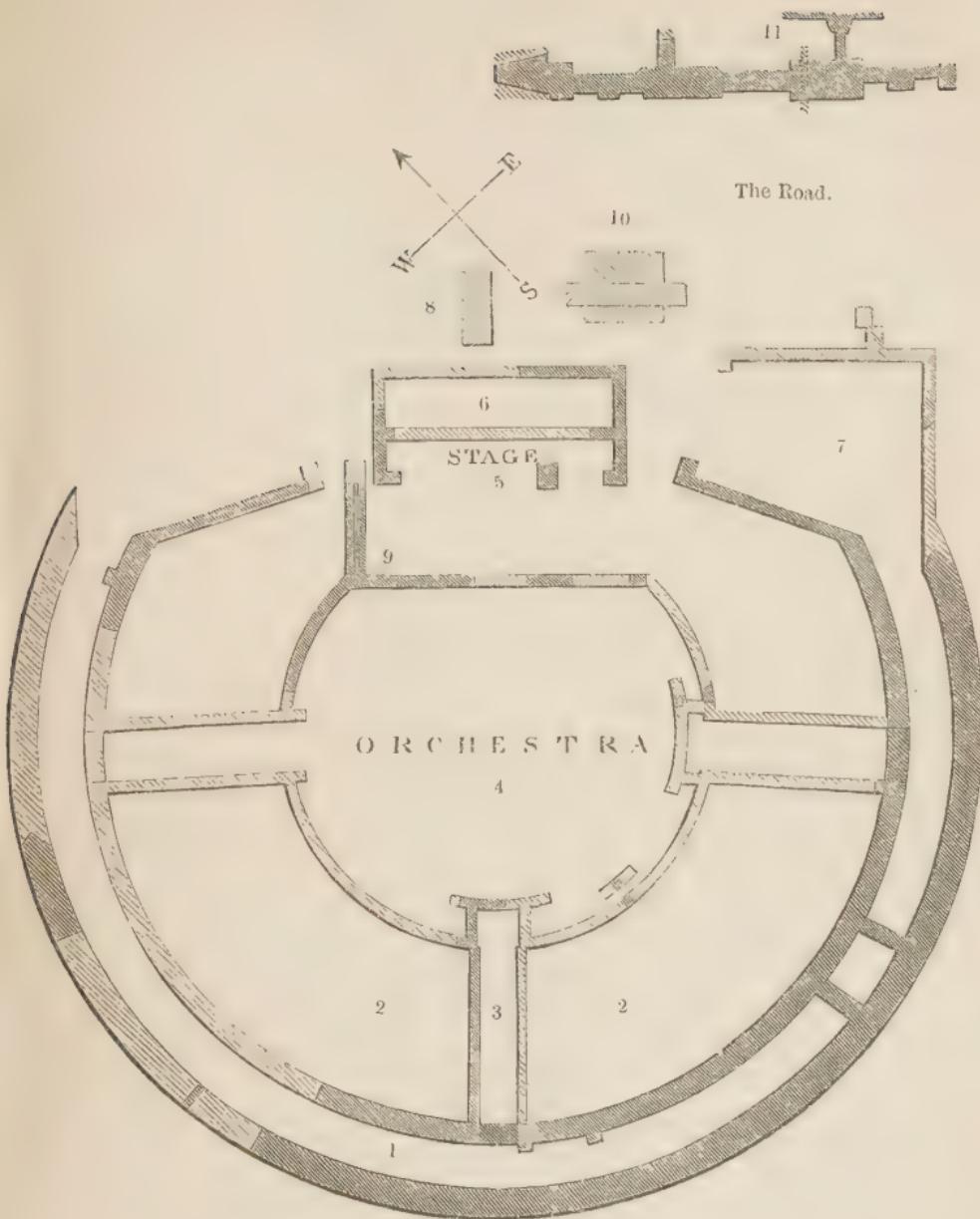


centuries stood on that site, he conjectured they were of Roman construction. With Lord Verulam's permission, he commenced an excavation, and foundations were soon laid open, which are shewn on the north-east side of the accompanying Plan (marked 11). The carriage-wheels at one spot rolled on the foundation of a wall, unprotected by any layer of gravel: the road having been formed probably in the Saxon period over these remains, they have been protected from any further disturbance. The removal of the accumulation of road-materials, hardened by the traffic of so many centuries, was a very laborious operation. These foundations are 327 feet from the road to Hemel Hempstead, and a quarter of a mile to the north of the centre of Verulam.

As soon as that excavation was completed, Mr. Lowe was informed that fragments of walls had been struck upon in ploughing the adjoining field; one of them was partly laid open, but that excavation was discontinued, in consequence of finding a labourer employed in taking up foundations in the same field, which, from their width, appeared to have belonged to some public edifice. Two of the fragments were then laid open, and ascertained to form concentric curves; and as soon as their radius could be measured, more than half a circle was observed to be defined by a gentle undulation round a slight hollow in the field. After the walls had been traced beyond a semi-circle, much interest was excited to ascertain if they had belonged

to a theatre or amphitheatre: there was a difficulty in coming to either conclusion, no Roman theatre having been previously known to exceed a semicircle, and the form of amphitheatres being, not a circle, but an ellipse. At length one of the cross walls passing from the innermost of the two outer walls to the stage was discovered, which clearly shewed the building was intended for theatrical exhibitions. The great depth of the earth, and the insufficiency of pecuniary resources, prevented a fuller exploration of the third circular wall, and of an inner wall, which have only been laid open at a few points.

In consequence of the land on the north-east side of the road not being the property of Lord Verulam, and being in pasture, the first excavation was not pursued in that direction; consequently, so small a part of the foundation of the building in the road has been laid open, that its purpose cannot be ascertained. Its outer or south-west wall is parallel with the stage of the theatre, and at a distance of 49 feet from its most north-eastern wall. It commences opposite the centre of the theatre, and extends south-east 89 feet, being six feet less than the semi-diameter of the theatre. The top of this foundation wall is 7 feet 6 inches below the presumed level of the corridor of the theatre. At 30 feet from its south-eastern end it is perforated with a sewer (shown in the plan), the bottom of which being five feet below the lowest part of the theatre, it may have been connected with its drainage. It contained bones



GROUND PLAN OF THE ROMAN THEATRE AT VERULAMIUM.

1. The Corridor.
2. The space for the seats sloping down.
3. Entrance.
4. The Orchestra.
5. The Stage.
6. The Postscenium.
7. Room with a Pavement.
8. Mass of masonry, which seems to have formed part of the entrance to the Theatre.
9. Wall with a drain in it.
10. Another mass of masonry, apparently belonging to the entrance.
11. Drain through the walls first uncovered, on the opposite side of the road.



of animals, mixed with sharp, coarse sand, evidently transported by a rapid current.

The foundations of all the theatre, except the innermost wall and one of the side rooms, have been laid open or satisfactorily traced. Where in the plan a dark shade is shewn between the outlines, the foundations have not been disturbed lower than was necessary to obtain the first course of Roman tiles. Where walls are shown by a light shade, the earth has not been excavated, or only loose building-rubbish has been met with.

The theatre of Verulam was 193 feet 3 inches in diameter. The two outer walls are on the plan of the Greek theatres; they comprise 240 degrees of a circle; between them was a corridor 9 feet wide. The corridor did not afford a continuous communication round the theatre, for it was interrupted at the entrances by the stairs which crossed the corridor down into the lower part of the theatre, and also perhaps by walls where foundations are shown on the south-eastern side, which was most probably the position of the stairs ascending to the seats over the corridor, but possibly of stairs descending to a passage to the stage under the spectators' seats, for the entry of characters appearing to come from the infernal regions.

The stage contained only the limited space of 46 feet long and 8 feet 9 inches deep. According to the principles which prevailed among the ancients it should have been about twice that length, and in a Greek theatre 9 feet, and

in a Roman theatre 16 feet, in depth. In all the ancient theatres, so far as can be ascertained, the walls connecting the front of the stage with the outer walls were in the same line; but in the theatre of Verulam they slant 10 feet, giving additional space to the theatre, by throwing back the stage further from the centre than if the usual rules of construction had been observed. The oblique direction of these walls afforded a better view of the performance from some of the side seats. Ten feet in width of the space between what appears to have been the front of the stage and the cross wall 16 feet 6 inches from this supposed front, is gained by the obliquity of the side walls. The use to which this space was devoted is not clearly apparent. As the external form of the building accords with the Grecian model, the internal arrangements were probably adapted to the entertainments represented in the theatres of that nation, and this space may have been devoted to the chorus, and so have rendered the limited area of the stage sufficient for the other actors; or, as was usual in the theatres of the great cities of the Macedonian age, it may have formed a lower stage for mimes, musicians, and dancers. It is possible, however, that it contained the seats of persons of the very highest rank. The wall shown on the north-west side of that space is only a covered sewer.

At the east part of the theatre at Verulamium (7) was a room with a coarse tessellated pavement without any pattern, composed of tesserae of brick about 1 inch square, placed on

a very thin layer of concrete. This was one of the rooms usually found at the sides of the stage of ancient theatres for the use of the performers. The foundations of a corresponding room on the west side of the stage have not been found. The ground naturally sloped to the north, and has been raised by an accumulation of soil and building-rubbish, which may account for the failure of the endeavours to discover the foundations of that room, and of the portico and colonnade, which were usually placed at the back of the ancient theatres, as a refuge for the audience from rain. At this latter point, however, were dug up two fragments, parts of columns,  $24\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, of the fossiliferous oolite called Caen stone, but found in some parts of England. These are the only pieces of carved stone which can be traced to Verulamium. Many varieties of sandstone and limestone appear to have been used in the construction of the theatre, as well as slabs of white marble  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch thick.

The outer wall of the theatre was 5 feet 10 inches thick, the second wall 3 feet 6 inches, the scena 2 feet 6 inches, and all the other walls 2 feet thick. The external wall of the building in the road varied from 7 to 2 feet thick. They were all constructed with the same materials; the foundation was composed of flints and a few pieces of chalk, on which, on the natural level of the site, was laid a horizontal course of two or three Roman tiles. At one point this course has not been removed, and upon it remains a

fragment, two feet high, of a wall of flints, cut and faced, so that three feet may have intervened, as in the city walls, between the bonding courses of tiles. Tiles were also used at the quoins. The mortar used in the walls was of the usual materials, lime and sand and small stones; but the sides of the walls in the road were filled in, where the earth had been removed in digging the foundations, with mortar partly, but in very varying proportions, composed of pounded tile, imparting to the mortar a pink colour. Loose pieces of the same coloured mortar were frequently met with in excavating the theatre; but it appears not to have been used in the walls. Mortar of this kind was commonly used by the Romans.

There is some difference in the construction of the defensive walls of the city, and those of its internal buildings. The flints appear in the former to have been less carefully faced, and the interior is in a great measure composed of water-worn fragments of flint. The materials were laid in all the walls with mortar of the same consistence as that now used, which was left at intervals to dry, so as to prevent bulging.

An entrance at the centre, opposite the stage, and another on the east side, have been partially laid open; but no trace is discoverable of the corresponding entrance on the west side, in consequence of the foundation of the innermost of the two outer walls having been obliterated at that part of the theatre. The entrances immediately after pass-

ing through the arch or door in the outer wall, descended down an incline, probably having steps (the innermost of the two outer walls being cut away to the depth of 2 feet 3 inches), to the lower rows of the gallery. The seats over the corridor, and perhaps some of the upper rows in the gallery, were over the entrances. The front entrance is seven feet, and the side entrance ten feet wide.

The space over the corridor being twelve feet wide, including the thickness of the top of the inner wall, might contain three or four rows of seats; fourteen other rows of seats might be contained in the space thirty-three feet wide between the corridor and the outermost of the two inner walls; and the two innermost walls might have furnished room for two other rows, making altogether twenty rows, which would require an elevation of about twenty-five feet. Thus, the orchestra being ten feet below the level of the corridor, the highest seat over the latter must have been fifteen feet above that level.

The fourth wall is only shewn in the plan where it is laid open in three places, at from six to two feet distance from the third circular wall. It probably formed a separation for some privileged class. The space it surrounded was the orchestra for the seats of the most distinguished persons.

The discovery of many fragments of roof-tiles suggested the possibility that there might have been a roof; but in that case we should hardly have found within the theatre the sewer before alluded to.

All the walls of the theatre (except perhaps the exterior) were painted in fresco. The walls were first plastered with mortar, some of it being the pink mortar described, one or even upwards of two inches thick in one coat. Only one fragment has been met with composed of two coats. The mortar was reduced to a perfectly even surface; on this was laid a covering of the finest mortar, perfectly white, seldom thicker than card-paper; and on this, while both the coatings of mortar remained wet, were laid mineral water-colours, which adhered to, and dried with it, and in a slight degree added to the durability of the surface. The colours being native colours, and not artificially prepared, time and damp cannot affect them; and so, as long as the mortar retains its surface, the colours remain uninjured. Walls painted in fresco were generally covered with an encaustic varnish composed of Punic wax, tempered with a little oil; this being warmed with an iron pan, adhered to the mortar, which was then polished by being rubbed with a cloth; but no trace of any such process was apparent on the fresco paintings of this theatre. The fragments found must have been for centuries exposed to the action of sun, and wet, and frost, and subsequently to the damp of the earth; yet, after a lapse of fifteen centuries since these colours were used, most of them remain uninjured. They are chiefly red and blue verditer, but many other shades are used. The prevailing pattern run in broad lines, and probably formed compartments, or

panels, as usually found on ancient fresco walls. Some of the lines forming the panels are excellent imitations of porphyry.

As is usual in all early buildings in England, there had been an accumulation of earth round the walls of the theatre previous to their demolition. For when on that occasion the workmen removed the lowest layer of tiles, which was about the natural level of the site, the earth immediately fell in, or was thrown over the foundations, which had not subsequently either been trodden upon, or exposed to the weather, the mortar being left quite sharp and uninjured. From these facts we may safely infer, that some centuries had elapsed between the deserton and demolition; though, from the good preservation of the painted mortar on the walls, we might have inferred that they had not for so long a period been exposed to the severe frosts of this latitude. The cavea of the theatre is filled with artificial soil nine feet deep, some of which may have been brought there; though it is difficult to estimate how far it might have resulted from the levelling power of the plough and harrow, and wind and rain.

The only relics met with during the excavations were a brass fibula, or brooch, having apparently an enamelled centre, a few fragments of green glass, and a great variety of broken pottery; and a hundred and seventy-one coins were found scattered about the area. They range through the whole period of the Roman occupation of the island,

down to the reign of Arcadius (the beginning of the fifth century).\* This discovery of money thus scattered over all Roman sites, is one of those extraordinary circumstances of which we have as yet been able to find no satisfactory explanation.

I have given a more detailed account of this interesting memorial of the manners and tastes of the inhabitants of ancient Verulamium, as it is the only Roman theatre yet discovered in our island; and the circumstance of its being built on the model of the Grecian theatres is in itself curious. One square block of masonry by the road side has been kept uncovered, and marks, probably, the principal entrance; it has the appearance of

\* The coins found in the theatre of Verulamium belonged to the following emperors:—

|                     |    |                  |     |
|---------------------|----|------------------|-----|
| Tiberius            | 1  | Urbs Roma        | 4   |
| Trajanus            | 1  | Constantinopolis | 4   |
| Philippus (Pater)   | 1  | Crispus          | 1   |
| Gallienus           | 3  | Constantinus II. | 8   |
| Salonina            | 1  | Constans         | 11  |
| Postumus (Pater)    | 1  | Constantius II   | 8   |
| Victorinus          | 3  | Decentius        | 1   |
| Tetricus (Pater)    | 10 | Valentianus I.   | 3   |
| Tetricus (Filius)   | 1  | Valens           | 6   |
| Claudius Gothicus   | 5  | Gratianus        | 2   |
| Carausius           | 3  | Arcadius         | 2   |
| Helena              | 1  | Uncertain        | 86  |
| Theodora            | 1  |                  | —   |
| Constantinus Magnus | 2  |                  | 171 |
| Populus Romanus     | 1  |                  |     |

having supported a column. It is very remarkable that this theatre holds just the same local position in Verulamium as that of the theatre in Pompeii, both with regard to the town, which was not unlike Pompeii in form, and to the lake, which here supplied the place of the sea. The road to Gorhambury appears, from discoveries beneath it, to occupy the site of the Roman street from which the theatre was entered. On the other side of this street, immediately in face of the theatre, were found, as I have before stated, the walls of another public building, apparently of some importance, but it could not be traced, inasmuch as Mr. Grove Lowe had not then obtained permission to dig in the adjoining field. That field is now a pasture, and its inequalities leave no room for doubting that it covers interesting remains. Opposite the theatre, on the edge of the ancient lake, are traces of an advanced embankment of earth, probably a small pier or jetty for pleasure-boats on the water.

I have said that there appears to have been a long intermission of the destruction of the remains of Verulamium since the monks of St. Alban's last gathered their building materials from the ruins. Alas! they are now seriously threatened by modern vandalism. A "Freehold Land Society" has come into existence, the professed object of which is to make small freehold estates, to create voters to influence the county elections. Accidental circumstances have enabled the gentlemen of this Society to purchase a large portion of the site of Verulamium, and unfortunately

that portion which contains the most interesting part of the walls and fosses of the ancient city. They are prepared, we are told, to root up all these time-hallowed vestiges of the greatness of ancient days. I can only offer up a prayer that some unforeseen event may interfere with their ruthless and unpatriotic designs.

## CHAPTER IV.

## A VISIT TO THE GRAVES OF THE FOLLOWERS OF HENGIST AND HORSA.

It was, according to the most probable calculations, in one of the years between 440 and 450, that a party of warriors from the coast of Friesland—"pirates" some call them, but in those days the distinction was not very easily made, and we can now see little difference, in this respect, between the conquests of a Cæsar or of a Hengist—swept over that sea which their own minstrels designated by the expressive epithet of the "whale's bath," and obtained possession of the Isle of Thanet. The tradition—perhaps we may call it the fable—of after ages, said that they were led by two chiefs named Hengist and Horsa; that they had been banished from their own country, and that they came hither at the invitation of the Britons, who sought their assistance against domestic enemies. The commonly received story of Hengist and Horsa will, however, hardly bear a critical examination, and those worthies appear to have belonged rather to the mythic poetry of the heroic ages of the north, than to the sober annals of Saxon warfare in our island. The names are nearly synonymous in

meaning, each signifying a horse, an animal reverenced by the people of whom we are speaking, who carried it on their standard, and in this sense it may be perfectly true that the settlers in the Isle of Thanet were, in this expedition of conquest and colonisation, the followers of Hengist and of Horsa.

At this time, England had been for many generations a Roman province, covered with Roman towns and villas, and inhabited by Romans and Romanised natives, who used Roman manners and customs, and spoke the Latin tongue. The Isle of Thanet was, in these early ages, separated from the rest of Kent by a more considerable river than at present, and by what was then more like an estuary of the sea than a mere succession of marshes and morasses. On the south, this was defended by the strong Roman post of Richborough, or, as it was then called, *Rutupiæ*, the grand port of entry of the Romans into Britain, and the spot from whence their luxurious tables were supplied with the choicest oysters, the shells of which are still scattered in profusion among the pottery and other remains which the spade of the husbandman, or the pick of the “navvy,” is constantly turning up. On the north stood the no less formidable station of *Regulbium*, the remains of which are now known by the name of Reculver. We know little of the manner in which the Isle of Thanet was occupied by the Romans; no towns are mentioned there in their itineraries, but the number of Roman coins and other

antiquities found in laying the foundations of Ramsgate pier, and the remains of the Roman burial places in the neighbourhood, prove that that great people must have had a settlement of some importance at Ramsgate, and their presence has been traced by similar memorials in the neighbourhood of Minster.

It was at Ebbsfleet, or, in other words, in the port of Richborough, that the followers of Hengist and Horsa came to land. The Saxon fleets had long infested the eastern shores of Britain with their incursions, and, in the long series of usurpations of the imperial title by governors of the island during the latter period of Roman sway, the Saxon and Roman ships had frequently ridden side by side in friendly alliance. In fact, it is probable that the Romano-British navy consisted in a greater degree than we suppose of Saxon mariners. It is not unlikely that they had formed settlements on the eastern coast, called after them the *littus Saxonicum*, long before the Roman legions had relinquished the island. Richborough, the chief station of the Roman navy, would be the last post deserted; and a comparison of various traditions on the subject, with the few facts that are known, would lead us to suppose that these Saxon settlers came rather as the allies of the Romans than under any other character, and that they established themselves in Thanet under the protection of Regulbium and Rutupiæ, rather than in fear of those strong fortresses. As the support of the Roman power was

eventually withdrawn, supremacy in the province of Britain was left to be contended for in a confused struggle between the new Saxon settlers, the older and more civilised Romano-British population, and the barbarian Picts and Scots of the north. It is not improbable even that much of the Roman population, who had been long accustomed to fight under the same banner with the Saxons in support of their own usurpers, joined with them in this new struggle for power; the two peoples must have been long in the habit of mixing together; along the Saxon coast the population was probably a *mélée* of the two; even Roman legions in Britain consisted in some instances of Saxon, or at least of German soldiers; and when the followers of Hengist and Horsa had obtained an acknowledged right to the Isle of Thanet, their numbers and strength were soon increased by fresh arrivals from their native country. When the Roman eagle at last bid adieu to the shores of Britain, it is likely enough that Rutupiæ and Regulbium were left in their possession, and from thence, after their occupation had been for a brief period restricted to the Isle of Thanet, they issued forth to make themselves masters of a more extensive domain, the chief seat of which was established at the Roman city of Durobernum, to which the Saxons gave the name of Cantwara-byrig, or the city of the Kentish men, which it still retains under the slightly altered form of Canterbury. We have proofs that in the Isle of Thanet itself the Saxon settlers intermixed with

the Roman population, in the circumstance which will be noticed further on, that the two peoples are found burying in the same cemeteries; and it appears that Richborough and Reculver were favourite residences of the first Kentish kings subsequently to the adoption of Canterbury as their capital. Richborough still continued to be the port of communication with Gaul.

Within a few years Canterbury and Ramsgate have been joined together by one of those wonderful structures peculiar to modern society, a railway, and one which from the nature of the ground over which it runs affords as great a proportion of interesting views as almost any other line of the same length. You leave Canterbury amid the rich and varied scenery so common to the Kentish districts, which continues until, after passing the station of Grove Ferry, you touch upon the extensive marshes which separate Thanet from the rest of Kent. At a short distance further the view each way becomes more extensive, and you see at once distinctly to the left the twin towers, the only remaining portion of the monastic establishment which formerly occupied the area of the Roman fortress at Reculver, and in the opposite direction the Roman walls of Richborough. The scenery is again more picturesque as you approach Minster, and after passing that station the ground becomes more and more uneven, until, within little more than a mile of Ramsgate, the railway passes through a deep cutting in the chalk hills.

This hill is called Osengall downs; its old name was Osendun.

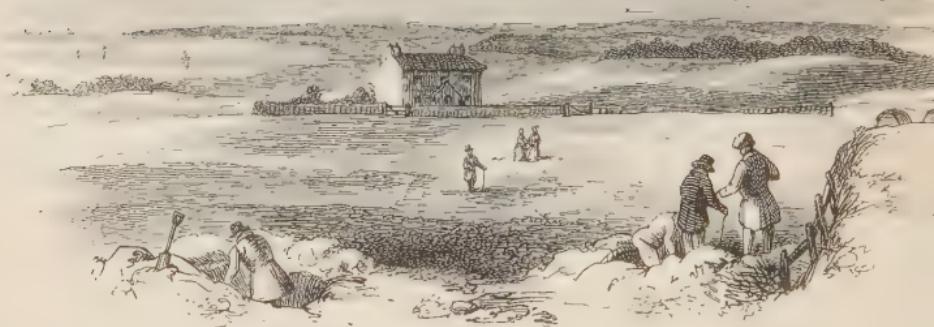
A pleasant walk of about a mile and a half brings the visitor from Ramsgate to the top of Osengall downs, and is well repaid by the magnificent prospect it affords. It is still open ground, the only habitation being a house known by the name of the Lord-of-the-Manor, which it bore recently as a public-house, but it is now a private residence. On one side of the railway cutting the ground was covered, when I visited it in 1847, with a crop of sainfoin, on the other a field of sprouting corn lent it a hue of brighter green, but no outward marks gave reason for suspecting that anything lay under the surface, more than is found under similar circumstances elsewhere, when the operation of cutting for the railway about two years before our visit led to the discovery that the whole summit of the hill is covered with the graves of the early Saxon settlers in the Isle of Thanet. Within the narrow space of the railway cutting about two hundred graves are supposed to have been destroyed, and their contents were thrown heedlessly and confusedly into the immense heap of chalk and soil cleared out of the excavation, with the exception of a comparatively small number of interesting articles which found their way into the hands of Mr. W. H. Rolfe, of Sandwich, one of the most zealous antiquarian investigators and collectors in this part of Kent. Mr. Rolfe's attention was immediately called to the spot, and, through his exertions and

intelligence only, the true extent of the discovery was made known to science. The graves cut through by the railway workmen appear to bear an exceedingly small proportion to those which still lie thickly scattered under the ground which is untouched, and which are filled with articles that are of value, because they enable us to judge of the condition and manners of our forefathers at this remote period. Mr. Rolfe immediately obtained a full and exclusive permission to excavate in every part of this now interesting spot, and in the previous summer, with the assistance of Mr. C. Roach Smith, he opened a number of graves, the produce of which fully repaid him for his labour. In the spring of 1847, it was determined to renew these operations, and Mr. Smith and myself were invited again to assist, for which purpose we assembled with two or three antiquarian friends at the hospitable house of Mr. Rolfe, at Sandwich, from whence we proceeded each day to the scene of our labours, which began on the morning of the 3rd of May.

The ride from Sandwich to Osengall, on a clear day, is exceedingly fine. The distance is somewhat less than six miles. At first the character of the scenery, and especially the back view upon the town of Sandwich, is purely Flemish. The only remarkable rising ground is the hill to the left, on the summit of which the dark skeleton of Roman Richborough frowns in silent and melancholy grandeur, a weather-beaten memorial of times and people

whose story is now involved in almost impenetrable mystery. When we visited the ruins of Richborough on the preceding evening, the voice of a lone nightingale was the only watchword to the warriors who have so long reposed in peace under its green sod. This morning, as we passed it on our way, a long line of white curling vapour marked the progress of a ballast train on the railway then constructing immediately beneath it at the foot of the hill, until it gradually disappeared among the distant trees, over which, a little further on, might be seen the tower of Minster church. Not far beyond Richborough, on the flat ground below, we perceived, on the same side of the road, a large tumulus or barrow, which (as this is supposed by some to have been the mode of burial with which, among the Romans, those who fell in battle were more especially honoured), perhaps covers the bones of a Roman officer who fell in some of the combats in which the Rutupian garrison had partaken. Hitherto the prospect lies open only to the left; to the right low uninteresting ground, through which the muddy, tortuous Stour drags its course, is easily concealed by a few houses, or stunted plantations. But as these disappear, and the road suddenly approaches nearer the sea shore, the waters of Pegwell bay open before us, and a long line of distant cliffs, terminated by Ramsgate pier and the shipping in Ramsgate harbour, form a bold feature in the view. A strip of low and swampy ground, dangerous at some periods of the





SITE OF THE EARLY SAXON CEMETERY AT OSENGALL.

year to those who are betrayed into it, and even now enlivened only by the blue dress of an occasional coast-guards-man, picking his way in search of smugglers, by whom this coast has long been infested, separates the sea from the road on which we were travelling. As we pass a tavern, called from its position between Sandwich and Ramsgate the Half-way House, the road, which before had no other hedge than a few bushes of blackthorn, on this occasion whitened with blossom, begins to be bordered with hawthorn hedges, and we commence a gradual ascent, during which the prospect to the left is cut off by the rising hill, but to the right and behind us the view becomes more glorious at every step. Richborough still continues to present itself as a bold feature in the landscape, and beyond it lies Sandwich, and the line of coast stretching out towards Deal. Higher up, the distant line of the Kentish hills offers itself to our view, and the prospect extends over the sea to the Downs, and to the remoter coast of France; and when, at length, we reach the spot on which the followers of Hengist and Horsa were buried, with the same magnificent prospect towards the sea, the line of the Kentish hills becomes more extensive inland, and the towers of Canterbury Cathedral are added to the intermediate landscape; a noble burial-place for men whose birthright it was to play with the ocean, and who had so recently made themselves masters of the valleys that lay extended below.

When we reached Osengall we found that the workmen

had already opened three or four graves, to within about a foot of the bottom, at which point they were directed to leave them till our arrival. The graves are dug into the chalk, on an average not more than four feet deep, and often less. They lay apparently in rows, and were, no doubt, originally covered, like the Saxon graves in other parts of the island, with low mounds or barrows, which have been levelled with the surrounding soil by the action of wind and weather, in this exposed situation, during so long a period. Our method of finding them was, to dig trenches on the ground to the surface of the solid chalk, in which they were cut. Along the edges of the railway cutting, graves half destroyed might be traced here and there as dips in the line of chalk.

The first grave we examined proved to be an extremely interesting one. It contained three skeletons, evidently those of a man, a woman, and a child of about thirteen or fourteen years of age. All three were laid on the floor of the grave, arm in arm, in a posture which could not but give us an advantageous opinion of the domestic and affectionate character of our earliest Anglo-Saxon forefathers: the mother occupied the middle of the grave, with her husband to the right, and a large iron spear-head in good preservation, literally separated their mouths. The skulls and much of the bones were tolerably well preserved, but some parts, and most of the articles of wood and iron, could only be traced by masses of black and dark brown powder,

into which they had been reduced by the process of decomposition. Beneath the chin of the man lay one large bead of amber, and at his waist was found the buckle of his belt, and the small knife which generally accompanies the bodies of the Anglo-Saxons. The lady had a string of amber beads round her neck; and a bronze pin found in front, a little below her waist, appeared to have fastened the lower part of her mantle. The profusion of beads of amber and glass, which had been twisted round the neck of the child, led us to suppose that it was a girl, although it had also a small knife by its side. A pair of bronze tweezers (such as are not unfrequently found in Anglo-Saxon barrows, and appear to have been used for eradicating hairs from the person), and a few fragments of less importance, were found in this grave.

There can be no doubt that these three bodies were interred at the same time, and the imagination is left to seek a cause to account for their simultaneous death, which must have occurred in consequence of some epidemic disease, or by violence. Perhaps the whole family may have been murdered in their house, in some sudden piratical attack, to which dwellers on the coast were then constantly exposed, and, when the invaders had been driven away, their friends had laid them thus in one grave. A grave we opened the next day also contained the skeletons of a male and female, the lady being placed in this instance on the right hand of her husband, whose forehead rested upon

her cheek. On her breast lay an elegant round brooch of silver-gilt, set with garnets, and in a perfect state of preservation. In this instance, the greatest number of beads were round the neck of the husband, and a very peculiar and fanciful-formed sword which lay by his side, would lead us to suppose that he was a primitive *exquisite* of the first magnitude. The brooch would seem to shew that the lady also had been dressed in a superior style of elegance to most of the tenants of the surrounding sepulchres which we had yet opened. I am informed by a phrenologist, who examined the head of one of the ladies, which was rather ungallantly carried off by one of our party, that it exhibited a large development of the organ of tune—some lady minstrel of Anglo-Saxon song.

Another rather large grave appeared to have contained three skeletons, among which were traced by the skulls those of an old man and a child. Two of these, instead of being laid flat on the floor, seemed to have been placed in a reclining position, with their back against the two ends of the grave, and almost sitting. With these exceptions, each of the graves we opened contained but a single skeleton, which appeared generally to be that of a man. One had been buried with a fine shield, of which the large boss, and the other parts composed of iron, remained. He seemed to have had no spear, and his sword had crumbled into dust. But the position of the iron-work of the shield enabled us to correct an error of the old antiquaries, who

supposed one portion of it (which has been often taken from Saxon barrows) to have been the bracing of a bow. It is remarkable that among the numerous weapons found in Saxon graves, no traces have yet been found either of bows and arrows or of the battleaxes and "long knives" with which traditionary history (so often in error) arms our Saxon forefathers. Our researches furnished a number of articles, which were all safely deposited in Mr. Rolfe's extensive museum. One of the graves we opened the second day was an unusually large one, measuring between nine and ten feet in length, and five or six feet deep. The body of one man had been laid in the middle, the head and shoulders resting on a pillow of green sod. At his left side lay a spear, rather more than seven feet long, of which the head and the iron tip or ferule at the other extremity were very perfect. The head of the spear was large and of an ornamental shape. The decomposed wood of the shaft could be distinctly traced in its whole length. The bones of this body were almost entirely decayed, but his skull evidently lay close by the spear-head, and the fragments of his heel bones lay within four inches of its lower extremity, so that he can have hardly been less than six feet six inches in height. He was probably some tall and powerful warrior of his tribe, who had been honoured with a large grave and other marks of distinction. His knife was found, in an advanced state of decomposition, broken into two or three pieces, and mere heaps of black

powder marked where the sword and a considerable number of other articles had once lain. Bronze, silver, and gold, are the only metals which are found unaffected by the decay incident to the long lapse of time during which they have been deposited in the chalk.

After three days' labour, and having opened about thirteen graves, we left the remainder for some future occasion. About the same number were opened the preceding year. In one of these was found a beautiful pair of bronze scales, delicately shaped, and a complete set of weights formed out of Roman coins. In another, the deceased had been buried with his purse, which contained two of the early Saxon coins called sceattas, and a gold Byzantine coin, fresh almost as when it came from the mint of the Emperor Justin, who reigned from 518 to 527. This at once points to the date of the interment, and at the same time proves that the Anglo-Saxons at this early period, instead of being an obscure people engaged in desperate warfare with a British population, which had often the mastery over them, were in some sort of intercourse with far distant parts of the world. An interesting discovery of another description was made in the former excavations among these graves. Mr. Rolfe opened one which was decidedly Roman, and another opened by the railway excavators contained a Roman leaden coffin, such as have been found at Colchester and elsewhere, but have never before been met with in a Saxon place of sepulture. It is

now in the possession of Mr. Rolfe. In both these graves the interments had been made in the Roman and not in the Saxon manner, so that no doubt can remain on our minds of the fact, that a Roman and a Saxon population lived simultaneously, and probably mixed together, in the Isle of Thanet. Further researches on this spot will, doubtless, place this circumstance in a still clearer light; and it is to be hoped that within no long period the whole of these graves will have been examined. They evidently belong to the latter part of the fifth and the sixth centuries, and their contents illustrate a period of the history of our island concerning which we have no other authentic record. Their peculiar interest arises from the circumstance that it was the custom of the Anglo-Saxons, before their conversion to Christianity, to bury the dead in their best garments, with their arms and personal ornaments, and with every variety of implement or utensil to which they had shown any attachment.

It is after all but a melancholy way of making acquaintance with our forefathers of thirteen centuries ago, by raising from the grave the bones which are no longer able to tell us their history—and could they rise and see what is going on around, their astonishment would, doubtless, be equal with or greater than ours. The outline of the landscape is the same, and the green sea lies before them as of old. They would see again the distant white cliffs of France, which they had known as a friendly shore, in-

habited by a kindred race, but it would require some explanation to make them understand how the political feuds and national hostilities of six or seven centuries had made the two peoples “natural enemies.” They might even recognise in the battered walls of Richborough the remains of the proud fortress on which they had so often gazed, when the Roman or Saxon garrison issued from its uninjured gates. But they would be ready to shrink back into their graves when they saw its new neighbour, Sandwich, as well as their newer neighbour Ramsgate, with its protecting pier and harbour, the majestic shipping with which those well-known waves are now covered, the altered garb and physiognomy of their countrymen, and above all that smoking, rumbling, railway train, which was the first cause of disturbing them from their slumber of ages.

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## CHAPTER V.

## SANDWICH, AND THE RUINS OF RUTUPIÆ.

No one with any feelings of respect for antiquities should leave the spot I have been last describing without visiting Sandwich and its neighbour Richborough. The church of St. Clement, in Sandwich, remarkable for its fine Norman steeple, stands on the highest part of ground which rises out of the surrounding flat, and, from the circumstance that urns and other articles have been found in the churchyard, it is supposed to occupy the site of the—or at least of a—cemetery of the Roman town of Rutupiæ. In fact, in its position, in the circumstance that it is separated from the Roman town by water, and in some other particulars, this church bears the same relation to the ruins of Rutupiæ, that the abbey of St. Alban's does to that of Verulamium. Below the original church the habitations arose which received the name of Sandwic, or the village on the sands. When this happened it is impossible to say, but it was no doubt soon after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity; for St. Augustine, who arrived in the Isle of Thanet in 597, is understood to have landed at Richborough, while Wilfred of York, on his return from the continent in 665 or 666, that is, only seventy years after, put

in at the port of Sandwich (*in portum Sandwic*), which would seem to indicate that the sea was already retiring rapidly from the former port. Richborough appears to have been soon afterwards deserted, and at the close of the Saxon period Sandwich was already known as “the most famous of all the ports of England.”\*

This town was made one of the principal cinque ports, and during the Norman period, and the age immediately subsequent, the name of Sandwich is connected with many of the most remarkable events in English history. It was the grand point of embarkation for France, and here our kings generally assembled their armies for transportation to the continent. But the same cause which destroyed the port of Richborough was gradually producing its effects upon that of Sandwich, and towards the end of the fifteenth century, the harbour began to be choked up with the accumulation of sands. A large ship belonging to Pope Paulus IV., sunk at the mouth of the port, at length completed the work of destruction, by forming a nucleus for the sand and mud, which soon blocked up the haven, so that it could no longer be entered by ships of any burden. The town of Sandwich thus lost its importance and activity, and was only supported by the manufactures established by French and Flemish fugitives, who had fled

\* *Sandwic, qui est omnium Anglorum portuum famosissimus.*—*Encomium Emmae.*

hither from the religious persecution which threatened them at home. Sandwich has thus become a very dull and lifeless town, and it presents in itself few attractions to the visitor. Its ancient walls and ramparts have been made into an agreeable walk which runs round the town, and the side facing the Stour, with the old gateway towers, has a quaint, antique appearance, and in the interior of the town there are some good samples of old street architecture. The wood carving on a house in Strand Street may be especially pointed out; and another ancient house in the same street, said to have been occupied by queen Elizabeth when she visited this town in 1572, contains a room of that period with an extraordinarily fine carved chimney-piece. In a house in Lucksboat Street there are twenty-two panels in oak, with very spirited carvings of grotesque heads, suppossd to be of the time of Henry VIII.

The ground immediately round Sandwich is remarkably flat, and the bank on which ancient Rutupiæ stood, though of no great elevation, rises boldly out of it. The road from Sandwich to Canterbury leaves the former town by its western extremity, and at a very short distance from the town we turn off by a cart road to the right and pursue the banks of the river, which has here cut itself a steep narrow channel, and runs in a very winding course. Long before we reach them, the walls of Richborough present themselves to our view, crowning the eastern edge of a hill, which on this side is broken into a precipitous cliff, but

which rises to the westward, and then slopes gradually into the plain. From the spot on which we are now standing, and from which my sketch was taken, we may form a good notion of the position of the Roman city. The two parallel walls on the hill before us form the south and north walls of the square *castrum* or citadel. The higher part of the hill to the left is the site of the Roman amphitheatre; and behind the citadel, the back part of the hill between it and the amphitheatre, on the slope towards the country in the interior, appears to have been occupied by the town. The flat in the foreground was probably covered with water. This low ground extends to the distant hills seen to the right of Richborough. Our sketch is bounded by Pegwell Bay, with the cliffs towards Ramsgate, and Ramsgate pier indistinctly seen in the extreme distance. The high part of the hill above Ramsgate is Osengall, the site of the early Saxon cemetery.

Following the pathway which runs at first by the side of the river, here seen at low water, we soon cross the railway from Sandwich to Minster, and begin to ascend the bank. Our road now lies along a footpath, on the edge of the cliff, which was cut away extensively to obtain sand for the railway, and we soon approach the southern wall, which cannot fail to strike the visitor who beholds it for the first time, by its imposing grandeur. But it is the north wall which is the most perfect, extending five hundred and sixty feet, and rising in some parts to a



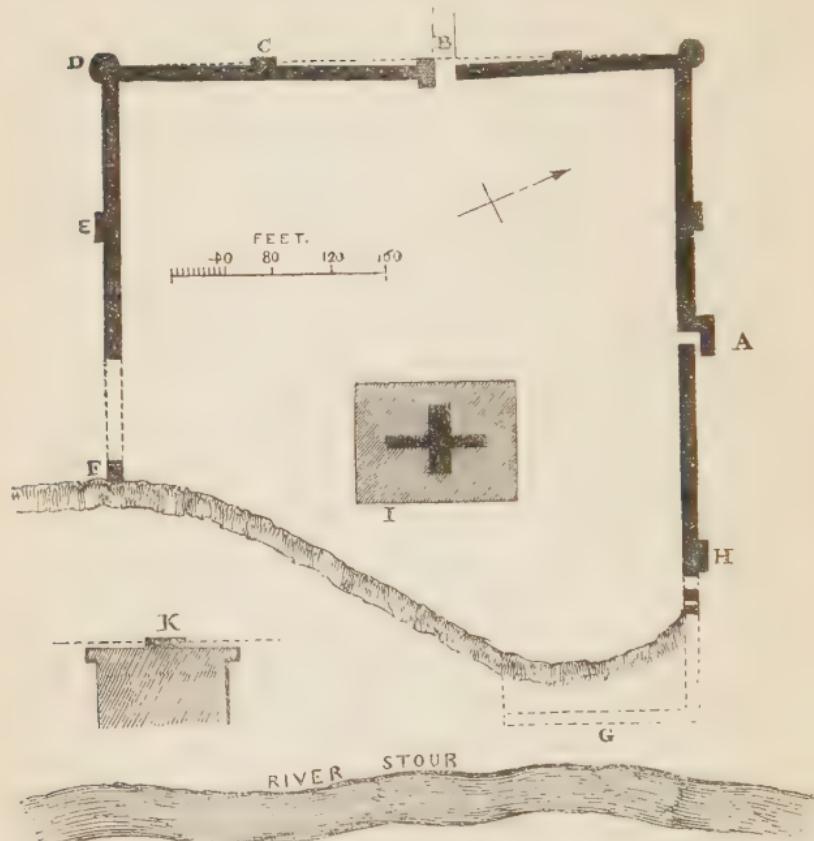
RICHBOROUGH.

From the road from Sandwich to Canterbury.



height of nearly thirty feet, which was probably near, if not quite, the original elevation. The facing is extremely perfect, and presents an imposing example of Roman masonry, consisting of regular layers of squared stones, with bonding courses of red and yellow tiles, of the form constantly found in Roman buildings. The first of these bonding courses commences at about five feet from the original foot of the wall (as it has been ascertained by excavations), and they are repeated upwards at distances varying from three feet three inches to four feet three inches. On this side the wall had been overgrown with large masses of ivy, some of which remains, but much has been cut away, and thus many peculiarities of the building, not previously observed, have been exposed to view. In the interior, the facing of the wall appears to have been composed entirely of flints, arranged in regular layers, with single bonding courses of tiles. The walls are at the bottom between eleven and twelve feet thick, and diminish slightly towards the top.

The walls of the *castrum* or citadel form a parallelogram, placed nearly north and south and east and west, as will be seen by the accompanying plan. Of the north wall about four hundred and forty-one feet remain standing; and about two hundred and sixty-four feet of the south wall. Rather a large portion of the western wall has been broken down. The latter was, when perfect, four hundred and sixty feet long; and the side walls



about five hundred and fifty. There was no wall on the side facing the water, as was the case with many other of these Roman fortresses; but at the north-eastern corner there are ruins of a return wall, which seems to have run down under the cliff, as indicated by the dotted lines at G in the plan. From observations made at the foot of the bank, there is reason for believing that here was

the landing place on the beach, and that a sloping road behind the wall G led up into the citadel. The wall was strengthened outwardly at the corners by round towers of solid masonry, and on the sides by square towers, solid a part of the way up, as shown in the plan. At F a corner of the wall projects over the brink of the cliff, and there are some indications of the former existence of a tower, perhaps answering to that at H. To the west of this point, where indicated only by dotted lines, the wall has entirely disappeared; there was perhaps a gate here, and it is still the point at which we enter the area when coming from Sandwich. In the wall opposite there is a very singularly-constructed and well-protected postern gateway at the point marked A in the plan. Externally it has the appearance of a square tower, but on approaching it we discover that the supposed tower is merely a return wall covering the gateway, as indicated in the plan; the passage had a floor of solid stone-work. The grand entrance, or decuman gate, was in the middle of the western wall (at B). The spot was excavated years ago by Mr. Boys, of Sandwich, who uncovered the massive stones of the sub-structure, which appear to have been subsequently carried away for building purposes.

The most remarkable feature of this interesting site remains to be told. In the middle of the area, not quite in the centre, but more towards the north-eastern corner, the base of some building in the form of a cross is observed above

the surface of the ground. The shaft of the cross, running north and south, is eighty-seven feet long, and seven feet five inches broad, and the transverse is twenty-two feet wide, and forty-six long. In excavating round this structure, Mr. Boys discovered that it stood on a platform, a hundred and forty-five feet long, and a hundred and four feet wide, and on further examination he found that this platform was five feet thick and that it was formed of a composition of boulders and coarse mortar, on which was laid a smooth floor of mortar six inches thick. From this floor, the cross just mentioned rises in a solid mass to between four and five feet, which appears by what remains to have been faced with square stones. What superstructure this cross was intended to support, it is, in our present defective knowledge, quite impossible to say. But some gentlemen in 1822, digging under the edge of the platform, came to the wall of a still more extraordinary subterranean building. The area of this building is of the same form as the platform above, but it is only a hundred and thirty-two feet long, by ninety-four feet broad, so that the platform extends beyond its walls about five feet at the sides and six feet at the ends. To ascertain the depth to which this building extended, the gentlemen who excavated in 1822 sunk a shaft along the side of the wall to about twenty-two feet from the surface of the platform, when they met with springs, which compelled them to desist. The extent of the platform and of the cross built upon it is indicated in our

plan by the shaded parallelogram at I. A section of the subterranean building is given at K, in which the dotted line represents the present level of the ground which covers the platform, a little above which the masonry of the cross rises; the shaded mass shows the platform overhanging the subterranean structure.

It is more than probable that this immense mass of building cannot be solid, but that it contains chambers, and we can only suppose that these may have been store-rooms belonging to the garrison or port. Neither the excavations of Mr. Boys, nor those of the gentlemen in 1822, gave the slightest indications of any entrance, and the whole matter remained, as it still remains, wrapped in the most profound mystery. In 1843, Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, determined to make an effort to dispel it, for which purpose he commenced excavations on the 5th of September in that year. He began at the point marked I in our plan; he dug under the ledge of the platform till he came to the wall of the substructure, and then worked a gallery along the side of this wall and under the ledge of the platform, along the whole of the east and north sides, and to the length of eighty-six feet along the western side; but, disappointed in his expectation of finding a side entrance, he gave up the gallery in despair, and attempted to break an entrance through the wall of the building at the point I, where he had begun the gallery. The work was continued till the 25th of October, when the workmen had made a

hole in the masonry six feet by four and a half, and extending inwards seventeen feet, without finding any internal chamber. The masonry was so extremely hard, that to make this small excavation it required the labour of many consecutive days, with every kind of implement that could be brought to act upon it. The number of picks which were broken in the work was incalculable, and, daunted by his want of success, Mr. Rolfe relinquished the undertaking for the moment, and has not yet resumed his labours. We can only suppose that, as the opening was made near the top, the workmen may have got into the solid masonry between the vaults of subterranean chambers.

Such are the remains of the citadel of the Roman town of *Rutupiæ*, the principal port of entrance into Britain in the days of the Caesars. That it was far more splendidly ornamented than the present bare and shattered walls might lead us to suppose, is proved by the great quantity of pieces of white Italian marble, which have been found in excavating; some being flat slabs which seem to have been fitted on the surface of walls, others carved into cornices, mouldings of columns, and other ornaments. Many of these were found about the platform in the interior; others seem to have been carried away from their original site, and were found in the excavations for the railway. These latter works also laid bare part of the foundations of a Roman house or villa, which seems to have stood upon the beach. But for these and many other minute details, as

well as for a full account of the numerous Roman antiquities of all descriptions found on this interesting site, I would refer the reader who feels interested in the subject to the admirable work on Richborough by Mr. C. Roach Smith.\*

As I have before intimated, the Roman town of *Rutupiæ* probably covered the ground to the west and south of the citadel. At a distance of about four hundred and sixty yards from the south-west corner of the walls, on the highest part of the hill, a hollow in the surface of the ground marks the site of the Roman amphitheatre. Traces of amphitheatres of considerable extent are found attached to the site of many of the Roman towns in Britain, as at Cirencester, Silchester, Dorchester, Caerleon, and other places, but they look in their present condition as if they had been merely inclosed with an embankment of earth; and such was the notion of the amphitheatre at Richborough, till, in 1849, Mr. Rolfe and Mr. Roach Smith were led rather accidentally to dig on the spot. They were agreeably surprised on discovering that the amphitheatre at Richborough had been a regular elliptical building, resembling in miniature the great amphitheatres of the continent. The lower part of the exterior wall was traced whenever the slightly raised embankment was cut into, and the longer diameter of the ellipse was found to measure

\* *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne, in Kent.*  
By Charles Roach Smith, Esq. F.S.A., 4to. 1850.

two hundred feet, while the shorter diameter was a hundred and sixty-six feet. The outer wall was about three feet six inches thick, and was built with flint faced with chalk, quarried from the northern side of Pegwell Bay; it appeared to have had the usual bonding courses of tiles. The ground sloped from the walls into the internal area, but all traces of the seats had been cleared away. Three entrances were found, on the north, south, and west. At the northern entrance, which was the one most carefully examined, two side walls were traced, running inwards, with a paved passage between them, sloping down into the area. There were some indications of this passage having been arched over. At each of the other two entrances one of the side walls only was found. It is probable that other Roman amphitheatres in Britain will be ascertained to have been walled. In the not very extensive excavations on the site of the one at Richborough, many bones of a small sort of ox, some iron nails (indicating the existence of wood-work), two fragments of glass vessels, and forty-three coins were found. Among the coins was one of Domitian; the rest ranged from the time of Gallienus, who ascended the imperial throne in 253, to Arcadius, who died in 408, with a rather large proportional number of the small coins termed *minimi*, which are believed to have belonged to the period when the Roman towns were left to their own government; so that this amphitheatre must have been in use down to the latest period of the Roman rule in Britain, if not

for an age or two after their departure. The number of Roman coins found scattered about at Richborough at different times must have been immense. Mr. Roach Smith has described nearly fourteen hundred in the possession of Mr. Rolfe, of which one is British, and three consular, and the rest range from Augustus to Constantine III., with a great number of the minimi. Some very early Saxon coins have also been found here. This circumstance, with the large quantity of minimi, shows that Rutupiae was a town of great importance at the time when the legions were withdrawn from the island.

Few, indeed, of the Roman towns in Britain were so well-known to the Latin writers as Putupiæ, which gave its name to the adjoining coasts, and was sometimes used to signify Britain itself. Lucan was well acquainted with the tempestuous seas for which these coasts are still celebrated—

Aut vaga cum Thetys *Rutupinaque litora* fervent.

(*Pharsal.* vi. 64.)

In the time of Juvenal, the port of Rutupiae was famous for its delicate oysters—

— Circeis nata forent, an  
Lucrinum ad saxum, *Rutupinove edita fundo,*  
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.

(*Sat.* iv. 139.)

It is a very interesting fact, that in digging in the marshes or low ground which in the time of the Romans

was covered with the sea, beds of oysters are frequently discovered, no doubt those from which the Romans derived their supplies. They are generally met with at a depth of from four to six feet, and the shells, which alone remain, are quite perfect and hard. Great quantities of oyster-shells are found among the rubbish of the Roman period wherever we dig on the site of *Rutupiæ*, which, indeed, is the case with all Roman sites in this island, so that, independent of the exportation, there must have been a great consumption of oysters among the Romans in Britain. To judge from the general character of the shells, the Romans seem, like the French in modern times, to have preferred the larger species.

The poet Ausonius, in the fourth century, makes several allusions to *Rutupiæ*. One of his uncles, named Contentus, he tells us, died and was buried there:

Et patruos elegeia meos reminiscere cantu;  
Contentum, *tellus quem Rutupina tegit*;  
Magna cui et variæ quæsita pecunia sortis,  
Hæredis nullo nomine tuta perit.  
(*Parentalia*, vii.)

The brother-in-law of Ausonius, named Flavius Sanctus, appears to have been the governor or prefect of the *Rutupine* district, and the poet speaks of the tranquillity which it enjoyed under his rule:

Militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit;  
Præside lætatus quo *Rutupinus ager*.  
(*Parentalia*, xviii.)

All these allusions show us that Roman *Rutupiæ* was an important town, and it is to be regretted that excavations have not been made extensively over the fields behind the *castrum*, where it is said that in dry seasons the remains of houses and streets may be traced by the different aspect of the vegetation. At the time of the compilation of the remarkable survey of the Roman empire known by the title of the *Notitia Imperii*, that is, at the beginning of the fifth century, this town was the head quarters of the Second Legion, which had been withdrawn from its old quarters at *Isca Silurum* (*Caerleon*); and when, not long after, the legions were finally taken from Britain, *Rutupiæ* seems not to have lost its importance. The ships from the continent still made for its port: and it was here that, at the end of the sixth century, according to Saxon traditions, St. Augustine landed with his small party of missionaries. Saxon coins have been found at *Richborough*, not only of the earliest description of Anglo-Saxon money called *sceattas*, but of Saxon kings down to so late a date as the middle of the ninth century, which prove the continuous occupation of the site till that period. At what time *Richborough* ceased to be an important port cannot be now ascertained, but we know that ships anchored under its walls at a much later date than that just mentioned.

The port of *Rutupiæ* was the commencement of the great Roman road to which the Saxons gave the name of the *Watling Street*. It appears to have begun at *Sandwich*,

on the opposite side of the water from the town of *Rutupia*, where probably it was bordered by the Roman sepulchral monuments. The road proceeded thence by *Canterbury* to *Rochester*, and so, nearly parallel to the river, to *London*, from whence it was continued through the centre of the island to the town of *Segontium*, on the northern coast of *Wales*.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## THE KENTISH COAST FROM DEAL TO DYMCHURCH.

THE south-eastern shores of Kent are interesting to the antiquary for many reasons. It was here that the Romans first placed their feet on our soil, under the banners of their great commander Julius Cæsar, and they established here two port towns, *Dubræ* and the *Portus Lemanis*. To the geologist the chalk hills and chalk cliffs of ancient *Albion* furnish much matter for reflection and research; and the scenery in many parts is sufficiently beautiful, joined with its proximity to France, to render it one of the most attractive portions of the English coast.

I have just said it was here that Cæsar first came with his legions, to visit a land till then unknown to the Roman arms. The exact spot where the Romans landed has been a subject of much discussion, and has been by different writers fixed at various places, from Deal to the neighbourhood of Lynme; but Cæsar himself has left us so few observations to identify the place, that the discussion will probably never end in anything better than vague conjectures. In a paper lately read before the Society of Antiquaries, the Astronomer Royal has undertaken to prove,

and he has argued the question with great ingenuity, that the place of Cæsar's landing was not in Kent. So far as I could catch Mr. Airy's views, when his paper was read at Somerset House, he argues that when Cæsar left the Rhine to proceed in his expedition against Britain, he was deterred from marching into the country of the Morini (*the Boulonnais*) by the thick and extensive forests held by hostile tribes, which intervened, and that, avoiding these, he marched to the mouth of the Somme, where he assembled his fleet, and, sailing thence, landed at Pevensey in Sussex, the site of the Roman town of Anderida. He gets over the difficulty of Cæsar's statement that the distance from shore to shore was only thirty Roman miles, by supposing that this number may be an error of the copyists of the manuscripts; and he suggests that as the Latin word *proficiscor* indicates setting out on a journey, but not necessarily completing it, the words *in Morinos proficiscitur* signify only that he set out with the intention of going to the country of the Morini, but that they do not militate against the supposition that he changed his first design, and that he turned off to the south. But, as far as I could hear at the reading of the paper, Mr. Airy did not face the great difficulty which Cæsar's text opposes to this interpretation. Cæsar tells us that *ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur*, he set out with all his forces for the country of the Morini, and he adds a reason for his moving thither, *quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transiectus*,

“ because thence was the shortest passage into Britain.” Now, if Cæsar had not gone to the country of the Morini, and had not taken the shortest passage, it appears to me, from the general style of his writing, that he would have done one of two things; he would either have omitted to state that he marched with the intention of going to the country of the Morini, or he would have told us of some cause which led him to alter his course. He tells us, moreover, that *huc*, “hither,” that is to the coast of the Morini, he had ordered all his ships to assemble and wait his arrival, so that he would have to send them counter orders. Nor do I perceive the force of the Astronomer Royal’s argument, that his receiving ambassadors from the Morini shows that he was not then himself in their country. We must consider that among these Celtic or German peoples a state consisted of a number of independent chiefs of clans, who joined together in war, but generally negotiated for peace separately. When our victorious Edward entered Scotland with his armies, the chiefs whose territories lay immediately in his route came in and submitted when he was in their country and they felt they could not resist, while those of the distant clans, who had not yet felt the danger of his presence, held aloof and set him at defiance. Just so was it with Cæsar. When he entered the country of the Morini, and took up his quarters on their coast, the chiefs through whose territory he marched made their peace with him, and sent their agents to offer their

submission; but those who lay more out of his way, such as the Menapii, held off and sent no ambassadors. It must also be observed that had Cæsar landed at Pevensey he would have been cut off from the interior of the island by the extensive and almost impervious forest of Anderida, which by no means agrees with his own account of his subsequent movements. It is the general opinion of the best of the French antiquaries of the present day that the Portus Itius or Iccius of Cæsar was only an older name of Gessoriacum or Boulogne, and thirty Roman miles would, I believe, be about the length of the passage from that port to Folkstone, which seems to me to answer best to the spot of Cæsar's landing in Britain. We must not argue too closely on the appearance of the country in Cæsar's time from that which it presents now; but, so far as we can judge by his description, his operations seem to have lain towards the wooded districts on the eastern extremity of the weald.

It was the notion of the elder antiquaries, which seemed at one time to be confirmed by the astronomical observations of Halley, that Deal was the place at which Cæsar landed; but the bare downs which stretch thence inland bear no resemblance to the description of the country through which the Roman commander marched. Leland, in the time of Henry VIII. describes Deal as “ half a myle fro the shore of the se, a fisscher village, iii. myles or more above Sandwic, apon a flat shore, and very open to the

se, wher is a fosse or great bank artificial betwixt the towne and se, and beginneth above Deale, and renneth a great way up toward S. Margaret's clyfe, yn so much that sum suppose that this is the place where Cæsar landed *in aperto litore*. Surely the fosse was made to kepe owte ennemyes there, or to defend the rage of the se, or I think rather the castinge up beche or pible." The latter supposition may be the correct one; but it must be remarked that Roman coins in great quantities and other remains have been found under the sand-banks in the neighbourhood of Deal. The coins, which are in bad condition, are chiefly of the emperor Tacitus, who reigned in A. D. 275.

Deal, though still not a large town, is much more important than it was in the time of Leland. Its position, in face of the Downs, has naturally caused it to increase with the increase of our navy. As Leland describes it, the town is situated on a flat coast, backed by the chalk downs which cover the country in barren undulations inwards to the neighbourhood of Canterbury, and many of which are covered with Anglo-Saxon barrows. At Walmer the hills approach the coast. After passing the village of Kingsdown, the chalk cliffs become bolder, rising majestically to an elevation of from two to three hundred feet, and, the face being quite perpendicular, they appear like the walls and towers of some gigantic fortress. This effect is heightened by the parallel lines of dark flints, which look

at a distance not unlike the brick bonding courses of the Roman masonry. These lofty perpendicular cliffs continue for several miles, and afford a continual variety of grand groups, until we reach St. Margaret's Bay. A good road for pedestrians runs all the way at the foot of the cliffs, and close upon the beach. At St. Margaret's Bay there is a deep hollow or comb in the hills, beyond which the cliffs rise again, and run out to the point known as the South Foreland. If the visitor mount the hill from St. Margaret's Bay, he will avoid a mile or two of shingle, which he would find it far from agreeable to walk over, and he may visit the fine old Norman church of St. Margaret's. From thence he can cross over to the Preventive station at Cornhill, on the other side of the South Foreland, where a road cut in zig-zag terraces descends again to the beach. Here the chalk cliffs take rather a different character, having no longer the formal perpendicular surface, but broken into picturesque masses, with a much greater accumulation of under-cliff or fallen chalk. From the top of the hill, near the Preventive station just alluded to, we obtain a magnificent view towards the west. Immediately beneath us are the bold projections of the cliffs; beyond them, Dover, stretching out in a dark line to the pier, with the Lord Warden Hotel forming a prominent object; the tops of the towers of Dover Castle show themselves above the Downs to the right, while beyond them appears the hill which forms the western boundary of the comb in which the town is built.

the lofty headland of Shakespeare's cliff, and (behind it) the summits of the hills nearer Folkestone. On the left lies the wide expanse of the sea. The cliffs we have been describing are celebrated for the samphire which grows here and there upon their faces, though it is much less abundant than it used to be, and I believe that this plant is hardly found at all on the cliffs between Dover and Folkestone, which are supposed to be the scene of Shakespeare's samphire-gatherers. It is long since the poet's description could be verified on the spot—

— Half-way down

Hangs one that gathers samphire—dreadful trade !  
Methinks he seems no bigger than his head.

Although the rest of the picture still holds good,—

— How fearful

And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's eyes so low !  
The crows, and choughs, that wing the midway air,  
Shew scarce so gross as beetles.

\* \* \* \*

The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,  
Appear like mice; and yon tall anchoring bark,  
Diminish'd to her cock; her cock, a buoy  
Almost too small for sight; the murmuring surge,  
That on the unnumbered idle pebbles chafes,  
Cannot be heard so high.

From the base of Cornhill, a footpath continues, with the exception of a small distance of shingle, over the chalk of the under-cliffs all the way to Dover.

The line of the coast makes a considerable bend at the South Foreland, while the high road from Deal to Dover, passing through the village of Walmer, runs nearly straight over the barren downs behind. Whatever advantage the wanderer may gain in shortness by this road, he loses in the dreariness of the journey, which is scarcely relieved by a tree or any other object to attract his attention, with the exception of a little wooded valley at Oxney. About a mile before he reaches Dover, a single miserable-looking tree presents itself to his view, a solitary object in the middle of a dreary waste. It is called the Lone Tree, and is the subject of a rather romantic legend. In the days of the Commonwealth, they tell us, two soldiers of the garrison of Dover Castle were jealous of each other on account of a woman, and, chancing to walk thus far together, one suddenly slew the other with a thick staff which he had in his hand. Horror-stricken at the crime he had committed, the murderer threw the weapon from him violently, and hastened from the spot; but the staff, falling in such a manner as to stick upright in the ground, immediately took root, and grew into the solitary tree which still remains as a perpetual testimony of this sanguinary deed. The road enters Dover by a very steep descent under the walls of the castle.

At Dover the chalk hills are loftier, and they run inwards in a high ridge towards Canterbury. Immediately to the west of Dover another ridge commences,

and, forming still more elevated cliffs along the coast, turns off a little before we arrive at Folkestone, running inwards almost parallel with the former. The country between these two ridges is formed by chalk hills and downs, more broken than those behind Deal, and much more picturesque, as they are diversified with wood and water. The angle formed by the cliffs coming from Deal, and the first ridge running inward, is crowned by Dover Castle; and the town of Dover occupies the hollow between it and the new range of cliffs running towards Folkestone.

The bold position of Dover Castle as a place of strength must strike every visitor; yet under the Romans its importance seems to have consisted more in its lighthouse than in its fortress, of which there are no other traces than earthen entrenchments. The grand port of entry into Britain at this time was *Rutupiæ* (*Richborough*), and it continued so under the Saxons, until, on account of the clogging up of the harbour, the port was transferred to Sandwich. The Saxons had a town at Dover, and they seem to have had a castle also; but this was entirely eclipsed by the Norman fortress of which there are still such imposing remains. These now form but a part of the complicated system of defensive works, aboveground and underground, which render the castle of Dover one of the strongest fortresses known. The principal Roman work consists of a very deep circular intrenchment on the highest part of the hill, within which stands the celebrated

pharos, or Roman lighthouse. It is a large and lofty tower, octagonal without and, I understand, square within, tapering slightly towards the top. The wall, which is ten feet thick at the bottom, is composed, after the usual manner of Roman masonry, of a casing of flints, with bonding courses of large Roman tiles, and filled up in the interior with smaller materials mixed with mortar; and the whole has become so hard that it seems like one immense piece of flint, a stern memorial of ages which the mind endeavours to trace through almost impenetrable obscurity. Adjoining to it is a little church, the history of which is more obscure even than that of the pharos. Its bare walls (for it has long been desecrated) are of very early masonry, filled with Roman bricks, with which the arches of the windows are turned in the Roman manner, although a slight examination will show that it is not Roman work. I believe that antiquaries are generally of opinion that this is a Saxon church, and it certainly deserves very careful study. Unfortunately, for some reason or other, the authorities have caused the building to be shut up, and entrance is obtained with difficulty; and, as the only entrance to the pharos was through the church, neither building can be now readily visited in the inside.

The Roman town of Dubræ seems to have stood in the low amphitheatre between the hills now occupied by its modern representative. In digging near the west end of St. Mary's church, in the last century, the workmen came

upon the foundations of a Roman house, and uncovered the hypocaust, which, according to the imperfect notions then held by English antiquaries, was supposed to be the remains of baths. I am told that Roman coins and other articles have been frequently picked up on the beach, which would seem to shew that the sea had gained upon the land here. Roman tiles found at Dover, like those found at Lymne, are impressed with the letters CL · BR ·, which have been explained, I think correctly, *classiarii Britannici*, “the soldiers of the British fleet,” or, in other words, the Roman marines. They shew that under the Romans both these towns were stations of the fleet.

Dover is in itself an interesting old town; it has some medieval remains that are worthy of examination, and a few good examples of old street architecture. In the neighbourhood are several picturesque rides; and the lover of medieval architecture may visit the celebrated Norman church of Barfrestone, or the noble cathedral of Canterbury. The coast to the westward of Dover is formed by bold and lofty steeps, the most conspicuous of which is that known as Shakespeare's Cliff, which limits the view westwardly from Dover Castle. The line of the railway from Dover to Folkestone threads these advancing cliffs in the most extraordinary manner. At one moment the traveller is immerged in darkness as he passes through the heart of the chalk hill, and in another he as suddenly emerges to find himself carried along the foot of the cliff, with the sea

expanding to his left. The whole route is a succession of tunnels, until the traveller comes out into opener country about a mile to the eastward of Folkestone. Here, as I have before stated, the chalk ridge turns inland, and it presents a series of conical hills which must have been formed by some primeval movement in the crust of the earth that is not easily understood. The accompanying sketch represents some of the more remarkable of these hills, taken from the east. They are almost all crowned either with ancient tumuli or with intrenchments. The one in front of my sketch is popularly called the Sugar-loaf. It has at the top a large, low barrow, which has probably been flattened by the action of the weather, for there is generally a very strong wind on the top of these hills. An ancient platform or road is cut into the side of the hill, and winds round to the top; it is seen very distinctly from a distance, and is indicated by the light shade in the cut. The hill immediately beyond this is the one known by the popular name of "Cæsar's Camp," and is crowned by a mass of very formidable intrenchments. Behind this is another advanced but only half-conical hill, crowned with a barrow, from the side of which Mr. Roach Smith extracted fragments of Saxon pottery. This, as well as the barrow before-mentioned, is placed in a noble position, commanding a wide view of sea and land, and reminding us of that chosen for the Saxon hero Beowulf,—



CONICAL HILLS NEAR FOLKESTONE.







CÆSAR'S CAMP.

|                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| ge-worhton ða         | wrought then               |
| Wedra leóde           | the people of the Westerns |
| hlæw on líde,         | a mound over the sea,      |
| se wæs heáh and brád, | it was high and broad,     |
| eð-líðendum           | to the sea-faring men      |
| wíde tó-syne.         | to be seen afar.           |

The barrow on the top of the hill just described was no doubt once, like that of Beowulf, broad and high, but it is now much worn down. The curious conical hill seen further inland appears also to be crowned by a barrow. The Saxon barrow described above not only commands a magnificent view of the sea and of the distant coast of France, but, as we turn eastwardly, we have the fine intrenchments of "Cæsar's Camp" displayed before us on the opposite height. The annexed cut is taken from a sketch made from the path along the edge of the hill which connects the Saxon barrow with the camp. In the hollow below, in what are called the Cherry-gardens, a tavern, with pleasure grounds, has recently been built—an inviting retreat to the visitors of this interesting neighbourhood.

"Cæsar's Camp" consists of three lines of intrenchments, of which the first incloses a very considerable space, of a long oval form. In the southern end, sea-ward, is a second intrenchment, rising immediately within the former, but leaving a large open area within the outer intrenchment to the north. Within the inner intrenchment again, on the highest point of the hill, is another circular intrenchment, closely resembling (though not so large) that which in-

closes the pharos at Dover. In fact, after examining Dover castle closely, its original intrenchments seem to me to have borne so close a resemblance to the so-called "Cæsar's Camp" on the hill I am describing, that I am inclined to believe that this latter also was the site of a Roman pharos, that served as a guide to the sailors approaching the coast. When I lately visited this monument with some friends, we dug out fragments of Roman tile and pottery with the end of a walking stick, within the intrenchments, and there are many inequalities in the ground which seem to indicate the sites of former buildings. The surface of the hill, northward of the intrenchments, is so even that we can hardly help concluding that it has been levelled artificially, and it is bounded eastwardly by a long, low earthen vallum running inland over the hill.

In the fields below, between the hill of "Cæsar's Camp" and the Sugar-loaf hill, Roman burial-urns have been found, which mark the site of a Roman cemetery, and which show that there was a Roman settlement at or near the modern town of Folkestone. These remains are now in the possession of my friend Mr. S. J. Mackie, of Folkestone, from whom I hope we shall shortly have a work which will make us better acquainted with the geological peculiarities of this coast. Mr. Mackie has also obtained a considerable quantity of fragments of pottery from the clay behind Folkestone, just beneath the railway viaduct; and, from some fragments of imperfect Roman tiles found

among them, I am inclined to think this was the position of the Roman brick-yards which furnished the tiles for building at Lymne and Dover. The Roman station at Folkestone, if there was one, probably stood further out towards the sea, which is known to have made great encroachments here. Among Mr. Mackie's collections are fragments of Saxon arms and pottery, dug up at the top of the Folkestone cliff, which mark the site of a Saxon cemetery, and may perhaps be taken in evidence that the station of the Romans had been occupied at an early period by the Saxons. It appears, however, subsequently to have been deserted; at least it seems to have been a solitary spot in the time of Athelbert, the first Christian king of Kent. His son Eadbald, who succeeded him on the throne in 616, was a backslider from the faith, but he was recovered by a pious fraud of the Christian bishops, and among other signs of atonement was the erection of a church at Folkestone dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle. The Christian piety of his daughter Eanswith was so conspicuous that she was afterwards reverenced as a saint. Having resolved to retire from the world, she collected a number of other religious females, and chose Folkestone for the site of a nunnery, because, as it is stated in her life, it was one of the most solitary spots she could find. Perhaps we might add another and a more weighty reason, that, as a deserted Roman settlement, its ruined buildings furnished ready materials for the mason. With a Saxon

saint, and that a princess of the royal blood of Kent, we are not surprised that Folkestone soon rose in reputation, and that it became a town of some consequence. We learn from Domesday Book that in the time of William the Conqueror it possessed five churches; yet when the Lives of the English Saints were collected by John of Tyne-mouth, in the thirteenth century, as we learn from his abbreviator (Capgrave), we are told that the encroachments of the sea had swept away Eanswith's nunnery, both church and churchyard.\* Perhaps the nunnery was rebuilt a little further from the sea, for in the time of Henry VIII. there were ruins of conventional buildings, which were proved to have been built from ancient materials by the fact that they were partly composed of Roman tiles or bricks. "Hard upon the shore," says Leland, "ys a place cawled the castel yarde, the which on the one side ys dyked, and theryn be great ruynes of a solemne old nunnery, yn the walles wherof yn dyvers places apere great and long Briton brikes; and on the right hond of the quier

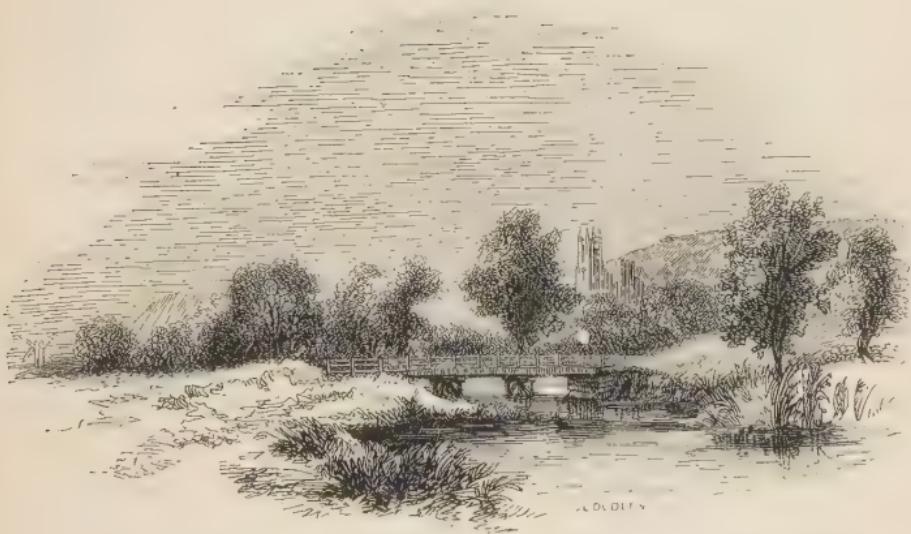
\* Elegit locum a vulgi frequentatione remotum, Folkstan nominatum, ubi et pater ejus Edbaldus in honore beati Petri apostoli ecclesiam construxit. Ibi ergo ex parte maris quo remotior dicitur esse ab ipsis ruricolis hujusmodi competentem fundavit ecclesiam, cum officiis sibi suisque comitibus professioni ejus necessariis, a pleno tantum maris gurgite septem jugerum latitudine, id est, viginti octo perticarum distantem. Quæ hodie nusquam apparet. Terra namque a mari consumpta post longum seculum corruit, et ripa maris cimiterium transit.—*Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angliae, de Sancta Eanswida.*

a grave trunce of squared stone." What Leland calls the castle yard is probably the place on the top of the cliff now called the bayle (*ballum*), behind which there is said to have been an abbey, and stone coffins have been found. The church still stands there. Within the bayle, which has been in a great measure carried away by the breaking off of the cliff, the early Saxon interments were found; one of many proofs that the Christian missionaries established their churches not unfrequently near the places of burial of the unconverted Saxons. Coins and other Roman remains have been found at Folkestone in former times, as well as on the coast towards Hythe, where in the time of Leland a store of Roman coins was dug up by a rabbit.\*

The town of Folkestone is rapidly improving since the establishment of the present communication by steamers with Boulogne, and it is becoming a fashionable watering-place. Few bathing-towns on the English coast can shew an establishment of the same extent so admirably conducted as the Pavilion Hotel under Mr. Breach; and Folkestone is certainly the best position for a visitor who would wish to choose a central station from which he might wander over this interesting district. A short walk westward will bring him to the quiet village of Sandgate, which also has become a fashionable watering-place. The

\* A cony drawing his yerth betwyxt Folkestan and Hyve did cast up antique mony.—*Leland's Itinerary*.

sea from this place makes a deep sweep inland, forming an extensive bay, the other extremity of which is at Dungeness. A ridge of green sandstone hills commences at Sandgate, not so high as the more easterly hills, but more broken; and filled with rich and picturesque dells, or deep vallies, with small streams at the bottom, running down to the sea. A little beyond Sandgate the military canal begins, which follows for a while the line of the coast, and then crosses the Dymchurch and Romney marshes. We proceed along the bank of this canal to the ancient town of Hythe, built at the foot and on the side of the hill. The accompanying engraving, made from a sketch by my friend Mr. Mackie, represents the town as seen from the banks of the canal, not far from the road by which we enter it—one of its most picturesque points of view. It was formerly a port town, but the sea is now a mile from it, and the rough shingly beach renders it unfavourable for sea-bathing. The most interesting object in this town is its church, a mixture of late Norman and early-English architecture. Some of the ornamentation of the later is extremely beautiful, but it has undergone that noxious process of indiscriminate restoration under which our ancient architectural monuments have of late years suffered so much. The object shewn more especially to the general visitor is a vault or charnel-house under the chancel, in which there is a great number of human skulls, now arranged on shelves, with a quantity of bones piled



HYTHE FROM THE CANAL.



in a heap. These bones have long puzzled the curious inquirer, and various stories have been invented to account for their existence in this place, all based upon the supposition that they had been gathered from a field of battle. It would appear from the account of the Rev. James Brome, rector of Cheriton, in the neighbourhood, who published a volume of "Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales," at the beginning of the last century, and who must have been well acquainted with the place, that there was then no tradition relating to these bones. He observes that "that which now more especially preserves still the fame, and keeps up the repute, of this poor languishing port, is the charnel-house adjoining to the church, or the arched vault under it, wherein are orderly piled up a great stack of dead men's bones and skulls, which appear very white and solid, but how or by what means they were brought to this place, the townsmen are altogether ignorant, and can give no account of the matter. Probably the first occasion of them might be from what is related by Henry Knyghton (*de Eventibus Angliae*, lib. iii. p. 2503), how that in the reign of Edward the First, about the year 1295, the then king of France sending about three hundred ships for an English invasion, one of them more forward than the rest came directly for Hythe, where landing their men, the English who were there placed for the defence of that port killed at that time two hundred and forty men, all that whole ship's crew, and afterwards burnt the ship out of

which they landed. Now after this slaughter, these men's bones in all probability might be gathered up, and laid there, after which daily accessions of more might be made till they increased to so vast a number as is still visible." Since the time of Brome, another and still more circumstantial story has been made up, and is duly registered in a memorial written and framed, and suspended in the charnel-house itself, according to which these bones were the remains of the combatants slain in a sanguinary battle between the Danes, who landed here in 842, and the Britons (?), when the latter, though victorious, were so horrified with the slaughter they had themselves made of their enemies, that they fled from the field of battle, leaving the bones to whiten on the strand, whence, long afterwards, they were gathered together and deposited in Hythe church! All these stories of battles seem to have originated in the circumstance that many of the skulls have apparently been cut through by a sword or some other weapon, although in more than one instance the individual has evidently lived long after receiving the wound, as the bone has actually grown over it. I have always suspected that these bones came first—or at least those of them which formed the nucleus of the collection which appears to have been added to at different times—from a Saxon or Roman cemetery (probably the former), which may have been chosen as the site of the original church here; and this supposition seems to be confirmed by the

fact that, in rearranging a part of the stack of bones, the sexton recently found underneath them a few pieces of broken pottery (now in the possession of Mr. S. J. Mackie, of Folkestone), some of which are of a very early character, and appear to me like fragments of Anglo-Saxon burial urns. Among them were some fragments of glazed mediæval pottery of a later period—probably of the sixteenth century—which the sexton ingeniously accounted for by supposing them to be the remains of the jugs out of which the men who collected the bones drunk their beer ! It is a curious circumstance that there was once a similar collection of bones in Folkestone church, which we now know to have stood on or by the site of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

A pleasant walk over the hill from Hythe brings us to the extensive ruins of Saltwood Castle, an Edwardian fortress, picturesquely placed on the side of a beautiful little valley which opens down to the sea. The fine gateway tower, almost perfect, and now fitted up as a farm-house, appears by the armorial bearings over the door to have been built by Archbishop Courtenay, who held the see of Canterbury from 1381 to 1396.

Soon after leaving Hythe we come to a break in the hills, through which the carriage road leads to the station at Westenhanger. Proceeding at first along this road, immediately after passing the turnpike, we turn to the left up a little rural lane, ascending a new range of hills. The

ascent is at first rather steep, but the labour of the walk is repaid by the beauties of the road. Bushy hedges on each side are filled with wild flowers, especially with different kinds of creepers, among which white convolvuluses, with flowers almost as large as the palm of the hand, are conspicuous. Here and there a break in the hedge, or the opening for a gate, reveals sudden glimpses of the extensive prospect over the wide sea below. At the top we turn from the sea, round a small but thick and wild copse, where we come upon a fine and extensive view inland. The road now loses its picturesque character, and we see no more of the sea till we reach a spot about three miles from Hythe. The view from this point will be best understood by a sketch. The top of the hill to the right is crowned by the towers of Lymne church and castle. The hill, seaward, is at first precipitous; it then slopes more gradually, and, at the foot, commences the extensive level of the Dymchurch and Romney marshes. In the distance to the left, is seen the great bay or sweep of the sea ending at Dengeness. The point on which Lymne castle stands is just that where the green-sandstone ridge begins again to turn inwards. On the other side of the hill under the castle, just beyond the wood seen in the sketch, the bank sinks still more abruptly to the level of the marshes. On this latter bank are situated the ruins of the Roman town of the *Portus Lemanis*. The sea appears to have once run inland at the foot of these hills in a creek or bay, by which



VIEW NEAR LYMNE.



ships came up to the Roman town; but this channel has been filled up in the course of ages, and dry land now stretches from the hill to the Dymchurch marshes.

There are three ways of reaching the Roman ruins from the spot on which we are now standing. A road turns from that we have been pursuing down the hill to the village of West Hythe at the bottom, and a path across the fields below the wood leads us direct to the site of the Roman town. Or we may take the footpath across the fields before us, and cross over the bank below the castle, but this is a more rugged road. It is more usual to continue along the lane up to the village of Lynne, whence a very steep path behind the castle leads down the hill. The castle, now adapted partly as a farm-house, is an interesting Edwardian structure, which formerly belonged to the archdeacons of Canterbury. The Roman town no doubt furnished building materials both for it and for the church. The latter is partly Norman, and fragments of Roman tiles are scattered in its walls.

In descending from the village of Lynne towards the sea, the surface of the ground presents first a steep though not very lofty cliff, then an elevated bank of more gradual descent, and lastly an extensive flat. It is on the bank that we observe the remains of the ancient Roman town of the Portus Lemanis. They consist of a line of broken wall, of immensely massive construction, formed, as was usually the case with Roman walls, of a facing of stones, with

bonding courses of tiles, and supported by round towers and by semicircular projections. As at Richborough, and at some other places where a Roman fortress was built on the coast, the side of the town towards the sea lay open, without any wall. The two walls which ran from the sea, protecting the town to the east and the west, were, like those of Richborough, perfectly straight and parallel to each other; but the transverse wall, forming the defence of the town to the north, assumed the form of a half octagon. They include an area of about twelve acres.

The broken state of the fragments of wall which appeared above ground attracted the notice of antiquaries, and Stukeley attempted to explain it by supposing that they had been destroyed intentionally by the Saxon invaders. But the peasantry of the neighbourhood declared that it was handed down to them as a tradition from father to son that the ancient town had been destroyed by an earthquake. This was looked upon as nothing more than one of those popular legends which are so often found connected with old ruins, until, somewhat more than three years ago, Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Elliott of Dymchurch commenced their excavations, and in the course of a few weeks laid bare the whole line of the wall to its foundations. It was now discovered that at some remote period the whole had undergone a violent convulsion which could not have been effected by the hand of man. In some parts the wall was still standing upright, but in many others it

was lying down, often almost flat, having fallen sometimes outwardly and sometimes inwardly, and in one or two places the wall had actually been thrown forwards, rolled over, and broken into two or three pieces, which lay several yards apart, in such a manner that the excavators thought they had found at least two walls, one within the other. This strange appearance was a singular confirmation of the legend of the peasantry.

A slight examination of the ground soon explains the nature of the supposed earthquake which caused all this mischief. The bank of the green-sandstone hills which here faces the marshes for several miles is covered with a deep clayey soil, the understratum of which abounds in springs, from the gradual action of which it is liable to landslips. The appearance of the locality is sufficient to convince us that the bank on which the Roman town stood has been carried away by a landslip which has separated it from the cliff behind. It would have produced a convulsion which might easily have been mistaken by the peasantry for an earthquake, and the circumstances connected with it show us from what a remote period such local traditions may be preserved.

The appearance of the walls, when uncovered, was extremely interesting. The lower part was in perfect condition, and the facing stones retained a freshness almost as if they had been recently wrought. The round towers, which were on the exterior of the wall, had been built up solid

and attached to the wall. Several small entrances were traced, with one or two vaults or chambers in the wall, which had perhaps served as watch-rooms; but the grand entrance was in the middle of the eastern side, looking towards Folkestone and Dover. This had consisted apparently of an arch between two small semicircular towers. The latter were built, like the wall, with facing stones and courses of bricks, but a great part of the gateway buildings had been constructed of large squared stones, some of them of enormous magnitude. These had all been thrown down by the shock, and were found lying in the utmost confusion in a deep hollow behind the remains of the two gateway towers. On some of them we might distinctly trace the rut of carriage wheels which had been driven over them when they were in their original position in the roadway of the gate, and another had a hollow in which there still remained a large quantity of lead, which had no doubt held the iron pivot or hinge on which the gate turned.

The area within the walls presented great inequalities of surface, and in some parts, when the weather was dry, it cracked in places in a manner which shewed that remains of buildings lay underneath. One of these spots near the bottom of the bank to the south-west of the entrance gateway was excavated, and the lower parts of the walls of a small house were brought to light. It had been a parallelogram, containing four rooms of rather small dimensions,





FOUNDATIONS OF A ROMAN HOUSE AT LYMNE.

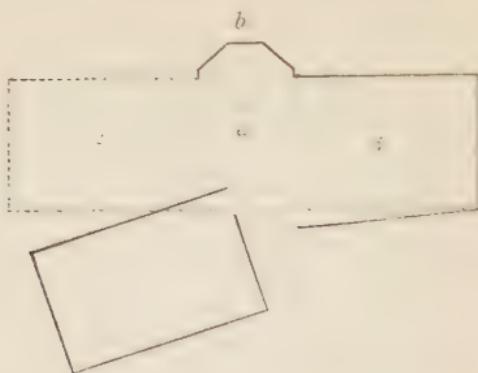
with the usual semi-circular recess on the south side of the south-eastern room, which had also a small square receding apartment on the east side that may have served for culinary purposes. The floors were all gone, but the hypocausts remained in a dilapidated condition, and the fire-places contained heaps of ashes, as they had been left when last extinguished. The walls remained at an uniform height of about five feet, which is so generally the case with Roman villas and houses, that we are led to the supposition that masonry was not usually carried any higher, but that the superstructure was of timber. In the interior face of the extreme western wall of this house are a row of T-shaped iron cramps, driven in up to the head, which appear to have been fastenings of some framework or tapestry that covered the wall. The accompanying sketch, taken from the south, represents the interior of the two eastern rooms of this house as they appeared after being excavated. The wall to the left is the one which runs north and south through the middle of the house; the transverse wall, which has been much broken, had three arches. Another large building was partly uncovered at the northern part of the area, but it had suffered much more in the convulsion caused by the landslip.

As I had been invited to assist my friends in the interesting task of bringing to light these curious remains of the past, I was on one or two occasions entrusted with the direction; and the circumstance which struck me as most

remarkable was the few traces of buildings found in digging in the area of what we must suppose to have been once for its size a tolerably populous town. It appeared to me that by digging a trench inwardly from the principal gateway we should come upon a paved road, and perhaps find it lined with houses; but nothing of the sort was met with. Inward from the gateway, turning towards the north, is a high bank, uneven at the top, which I supposed might be formed by the ruins of buildings; but to my still greater astonishment there was nothing but hard rock from a foot and a half to two feet or more beneath the surface. It is not likely that on the site chosen for a town a rock like this would be left in such a position overlooking the gateway. But a comparison of this and other circumstances enables us to understand the nature of the catastrophe.

When the mass of cliff was detached by means of gunpowder in clearing the way for the railway near Dover, it is described as sliding rapidly forward, and carrying with it undisturbed whatever might be standing on its surface. Such exactly must have been the motion given to the mass on which stood the Roman town of the Portus Lemanis. Springs underneath, which found no outlet, gradually softened and loosened the clay under it until, when at last they burst forth, they detached the whole mass, and it slid forwards to the level. There, if it had met with no obstacles, it would probably have rested, with the town standing. But the place over which it moved was uneven

and rocky, and it was this unevenness which caused the destructive effects now visible. The moving mass was evidently arrested in its progress by the large piece of rock just alluded to as now rising behind the gateway, and it is to the shock caused by meeting with this impediment that we must ascribe the peculiar manner in which the gateway was overthrown, as well as the extraordinary breaking up and scattering of the wall at the north-eastern corner. The movement seems to have taken place from north-east to south-west, and the buildings which had passed over this mass of rock were perhaps carried onwards and completely rolled over in the earth. Excavations at the bottom of the hill in this direction, towards the old farmhouse which stands there, brought to light an immense depth of black mould, mixed with all sorts of remains and rubbish. On a careful comparison of circumstances, I am inclined to believe that the house described above originally stood just within the gateway, perhaps by the side of the road or street. The ground on which it stands had moved more easily down, and the walls are comparatively little disturbed. Some of them lean slightly, and they are a little dislocated at the south-western corner. Within the walls at the top of the hill, at no great distance from the northern town wall, and about midway between the east and west walls, were found the remains of an extensive building, alluded to above, of which a plan is given in the accompanying cut. It was about a hundred and twenty



feet long, and consisted originally of a middle apartment (*a*), with an octagonal end towards the north (*b*), and two much larger apartments on each side (*c* and *d*). What the purpose of this building, which must have commanded a full view of the sea, may have been it is difficult to decide, though it was perhaps intended for the reception of strangers arriving in the port. The half octagonal end (*b*), which looked immediately on the northern wall of the town, from which it was not far removed, had certainly windows, for I myself pieked up numerous pieces of window-glass close under the wall, upon the original level of the ground. Below the foundations of this building the bank is rather steep, and there had been another stoppage, probably by rock underneath, the effects of which were shown in a very singular manner. The great eastern apartment, with the northern end of the middle room, had been arrested in their progress by the obstacle, and remain in their original position, very slightly deranged: but, the impediment not

existing in the same degree further west, the whole of the western side of the house had been cut off from the rest and carried a little way forwards, so that the walls now stand in the position marked in our plan by the dark parts, instead of the original position, which is here completed by the dotted lines. Similar effects may be traced in other parts of the town, the western wall of which is partially thrown down, just as we might expect from such a mass of masonry if, after receiving a certain degree of impetus from the forward movement of the ground, it was suddenly stopped.

Some circumstances observed in the course of the excavations seemed to indicate that the walls of the Roman Portus Lemanis belonged to rather a late period of the Roman occupation of the island. This is particularly observable in the great gateway, many of the stones of which appeared evidently to have been taken from older buildings, and one of them has been accidentally discovered to be part of a Roman altar erected by a prefect or commander of the British fleet to some deity, whose name has been lost with the upper part of the stone. It is particularly interesting as confirming Mr. Roach Smith's interpretation of the letters CL·BR· stamped on the Roman tiles found here and at Dover. The inscription evidently wants at least two lines at the top and one at the bottom, and the first letter of the third line is illegible, but what remains may be read without difficulty as follows:—

• • •

• • IV • •

ARAM

• • AVFIDIV

PANTERA

PRAEFECT

CLAS'BRIT'

The first i may be the remains of a t, and tv is perhaps part of the word NEPTVNO, in which case the inscription would indicate that, Aufidius Pantera, praefect of the British fleet, dedicated the altar to the god Neptune.

A comparison of some circumstances connected with the condition of the site will enable us to offer a very fair conjecture as to the period at which this landslip occurred. Towards the lower end of the eastern wall in the interior was found a penny of the Saxon king Edgar, who reigned from 959 to 975. It is tolerably evident, therefore, that the landslip was subsequent to that period. At the time of its occurrence, the town walls appear to have been perfect or nearly so, and the walls of the houses remained at their present height, with the superstructure, of whatever material it may have been, cleared away. If this had not been the case with the houses, we should have found some of the rubbish of the upper parts of the building lying about. I think it is equally evident that, when the upper parts of the town walls were broken up to supply materials for the ecclesiastical and castellated buildings at

the top of the hill, it was some length of time after they had been overthrown as they now appear, and that they had already been covered to a certain depth with earth. This appears from the circumstance that the facing-courses of the wall have been in general broken away to a level which would have been that of the ground in their present position, but which would be quite unaccountable if the walls had been at the time standing upright. Moreover, if the stones of the gateway buildings had not been already thrown down and covered with the earth, they would have offered too tempting a prize to escape the medieval builders. I believe the ecclesiastical house which stood at the top of the hill, and to which the present church belonged, was erected in the twelfth century, and we should perhaps not be far from the truth if we placed the landslip to which we must ascribe the overthrow of the Roman ruins to the earlier part of the eleventh century.

From the effects of this convulsion the excavations at Lymne did not produce all the results which were expected from them, but still the discovery was one of high interest, and while uncovered, the ruins—especially the gateway and the house—were well deserving a visit. I regret to be obliged to say that a large portion of the excavations have since been filled up, and that the farmer who holds part of the land insists that the house and the gateway shall also be buried again. I hope this will not be done till all the stones in the latter have been carefully examined. If they

were kept open, and a slight building—even but a tent—erected on the spot where visitors might obtain refreshments, I have no doubt that a considerable profit might be realised.

The spot is indeed almost as attractive from the beauty of the scenery, as from the interest of its ancient Roman remains. Behind, it is screened from the north by the lofty cliff, crowned with castle and church; and all around is a magnificent panorama, skirted by a small copse to the left, with the sea extending in front, below the flat grounds which in course of ages have been gained from it, and far off to the right the extensive marshes of Dymchurch and Romney. A little brook now runs through the middle of the ancient town—it may perhaps proceed from the identical spring which contributed to the great catastrophe of which we have been describing the effects. It issues from a fountain in the side of the hill above, which in its present appearance is so picturesque that I am tempted to give a sketch of it. A small recess in the side of the hill is completely buried in trees and flowers, from the midst of which gushes a little stream of transparent water. A wooden gutter, raised upon props, has been made to conduct the water, which falls into the middle of a bed of fine water-cresses, and it thence directs its course down to the shattered walls of the Portus Lemanis. Strange that so insignificant an agent should have been sufficient to overthrow a town !



SPRING AT LYMNE.



When I last visited this spot it was on a beautiful day in the autumn of 1851, in company with three friends, Dr. Guest of London, Mr. S. J. Mackie of Folkestone, and Mr. Elliot of Dymchurch. The latter gentleman had had the chief direction and management of the excavations, and Mr. Mackie is intimately acquainted with the geological formation of the neighbourhood. We left the Roman walls and continued our excursion on foot westward, over the sloping ground bordering upon the plain which extends to the marshes. This flat ground appears to have been in Roman times a long narrow gulf of the sea, and the bank upon which we were walking had perhaps been broken off by similar landslips from the low cliff which borders it to the north. When we entered some ploughed fields we met almost at every step with fragments of Roman pottery and tiles, sure evidence that the ground concealed other remains of that extraordinary people. At one spot these traces were so numerous, that we borrowed a spade from a farmhouse, and soon convinced ourselves that we were not mistaken in our conjectures. Mr. Mackie has since made some partial excavations, and discovered the remains of walls. At length, at a distance of some three miles from Lymne, we reached the ruined little chapel of Court-at-Street, the scene of the pretended visions of the Maid of Kent, which played so remarkable a part in the ecclesiastical history of this country during the eventful reign of Henry VIII. Here we obtained some refreshments from a

neighbouring *auberge*, and reposed ourselves under a pleasing clump of trees growing beside a small pool. The spot is extremely picturesque. Immediately below us lay the plain, with the village of Dymchurch enveloped in trees; beyond it an extensive sea-view, with the shore sweeping round to the distant promontory of Dungeness. The bare walls immediately before us were enough to turn our thoughts to the wonderful events which have swept over our country since the great flame of the Reformation was raised up by a spark that was lit from the small shrine of superstition in this retired nook.

The name of the place, Court-at-Street, indicates sufficiently that we were then in the immediate neighbourhood of a Roman road, and in fact close at hand was the ancient road from the Portus Lemanis to Anderida, or Pevensey, which runs upon the high ground with a course so straight as to betray at once its origin. Remains of Roman settlements are discovered all along, on both sides of the road, which seems to have been bordered with villas. We walked back to the village of Lymne along this road, and Mr. Elliot drove us thence to the station at Westenhanger, whence we took the first railway train on our return to Folkestone.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PEVENSEY CASTLE.

The coast districts of Sussex were rendered important in ancient times by their productions, as well as by their position, which was favourable for communication with Gaul. They were separated from the rest of the island by a wide belt of very thick forest, extending from Kent westward into Hampshire, known to the Romans by the name of *Silva Anderidae*, and to the Saxons by that of *Andredes-weald* and *Andredes-leah*. This name it either took from, or gave to, an important town on the coast named Anderida or Portus Anderidæ. We have no notice in the Roman writers of the history of this town, further than that its name is entered in the Itinerary of Richard and in the Notitia. When the Saxon invaders landed in A.D. 477, under their leader *Ælla*, and his three sons *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, and *Cissa*, they found this town, which they called *Andredes-ceaster*, a very strongly fortified place, and its townsmen brave and skilful warriors. It was not till 491, fourteen years after their arrival, that *Ælla* and his son *Cissa* obtained possession of it, and then they were so incensed at the long and obstinate defence of its inhabitants, that “they slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left.”

Such is the account given by the Anglo-Saxon chro-

nicle. The wars of Ælla and the fate of the Roman Anderida appear to have been long celebrated in Saxon song, for the old historian Henry of Huntingdon, who made great use of such popular materials, has given us from tradition a more circumstantial account of the attack upon this important town. He tells us that Ælla led a very large force to the siege of this well-fortified town (*urbem munitissimam*). The Britons assembled “like bees,” and harassed the besiegers by day and by night; but the more the Saxons suffered from their attacks the fiercer they became, and they made continual but unavailing efforts to force their way into the place. “But whenever they urged their assaults on the walls, the Britons attacked them behind with arrows and darts so hotly, that they left the walls, and turned upon them. Then the Britons, quicker in their movements, made good their retreat into the forest, but no sooner did the besiegers approach the walls, than they were at their backs again. In this manner the Saxons were long embarrassed, and lost an immense number of men, until at length they divided their army into two parts, and while one was occupied in the attack on the town, the other was posted in the rear to hold the Britons in check. Then the citizens, reduced to starvation, and no longer possessing the strength to resist their assailants, were all devoured by the sword, with their women and children, so that not one escaped. And because the strangers had thus suffered so much hurt, they destroyed

the town, so that it was never afterwards rebuilt; and the deserted ruins only of what appears to have been once a most noble city are shown to travellers as they pass."\*

It is evident from this that the town of Anderida was not, as antiquaries and historians have been led to suppose, so utterly destroyed that not a trace was left to mark its position. Any one who knows what Roman walls are will at once understand the improbability of such a result. As the historian just quoted, who lived himself in the earlier part of the twelfth century, intimates, its massive fortifications remained standing, and they inclosed the ruins of streets and houses which, as all the inhabitants had perished, there were none who possessed that attachment to the place which would induce them to rebuild. But as the town itself remained thus deserted, and its floors and foundations became deeper and deeper buried in the soil, which always collects in such circumstances, the Saxons gradually formed settlements around. It had been an important sea-port, and the situation naturally attracted fishermen and others whose vocation or taste connected them with the wide ocean; while the ruins of the ancient town furnished ready materials for building. To the east of the old town some Saxon chief whose name was Peofn

\* This I believe to be the meaning of the words of Henry of Huntingdon, *ita urbem destruxerunt, quod nunquam postea readificata est, locus tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.* Hen. Hunt. Hist. lib. ii. p. 312.

appears to have taken up his residence, and a village was formed around him which, with its bay, became known by the name of *Peofenes-ea*, or *Pevens-ea*, the Water of Peofn. It is evident that this site was chosen on account of its proximity to the sea. On the western or land side of the ancient town, on the side of the ancient military road or street, another settlement was formed, no doubt subsequent to the other, because it was called for distinction-sake the West-ham, or the manor on the west. These two settlements gradually increased in magnitude and importance, until they became incorporated and were made a branch of the cinque ports. We have no guide to the period at which Peofn settled here, but it must have been remote, for we learn that as early as the year 792 Peofenes-ea was given by its proprietor, who was then the Earl Berhtwald, to the abbey of St. Denis at Paris. It continued to be a sea-port of importance; in the eleventh century, especially, it seems to have been a common resort of ships, and it was here that, on the 28th of September, 1066, William of Normandy landed with that powerful army with which in the fatal battle of Hastings he expelled the Saxon dynasty from the throne of England. At this time Pevnes-ae was of sufficient importance to possess a mint; and, the whole district having been given by the Conqueror to his half-brother Robert, Count of Mortaigne, that nobleman, perceiving at once the importance of the position for one whose interests lay between England and Normandy,

determined to make here one of his principal castles. The area of the Roman town was then probably a mere rough ground, the foundation-walls of the Roman houses being already buried in the accumulated earth, and the circuit of the massive walls of ancient Anderida inclosing a space abundantly sufficient for what the Normans called the outer ballium of their castles. Count Robert chose the south-eastern extremity of this area, where the ground was much higher than the rest (perhaps raised artificially), to erect his Norman fortress. This fortress was long celebrated in English history; but as the sea gradually receded from the port, both castle and town lost their importance. Both Pevensey and West-ham, though still preserving their old corporate rights and character, were again reduced to mere villages, but between them stand the remains of Anderida; and those majestic walls, which had witnessed for many a long year the Roman occupation of our island, and which had presented an insurmountable obstacle to the furious attacks of the Saxon invaders, still stand in many parts more perfect than the ruins of the Norman castle. The ancient name of Anderida has been entirely lost, and from the earlier of the two Saxon settlements the whole site has received the name of Pevensey Castle.

There are few ruins in England which better deserve a visit than those of Pevensey Castle; and they are now easy of access, for the visitor may reach them with almost equal facility by railway from Hastings or from Brighton (by

way of Lewes), or from London. From the metropolis, with a return ticket, he may, if he likes, proceed thither by an early train in the morning, and return at night; and there is a good inn—the Corporation Arms—between the Pevensey station and the castle, at which he may obtain refreshments. The Brighton Railway, which is the one he must take, is one of the most picturesque lines near London, presenting to the traveller in his rapid course a fair sample of the varied scenery of Surrey and Sussex. Between the stations of Reigate and Horley, the traveller enters upon the weald district, the ancient *Silva Anderida*, and as he passes through it, he obtains many fine views of wild, irregular scenery, bounded by the distant heights of the forest, many of which are still thickly clothed in wood. At the Hayward's Heath station, in the middle of this district, he turns off from the Brighton line, and a few miles further he leaves the weald, and enters upon the equally striking scenery of the Sussex downs, the road becoming more and more picturesque as he approaches the town of Lewes.

Lewes is a pretty and interesting country town, occupying an elevation in a pass between two ridges of the downs. The railroad was conducted in a tunnel right underneath the town, much to the discomfort of some of the inhabitants who happened to have wells and pumps, which, from the position of the place, had been necessarily sunk deep on the line through which the tunnel passed.

It is said that one good housewife, rising in the morning and as usual lowering the bucket into her well to obtain the water necessary for household purposes, was not a little amazed at bringing it up with chalk rubbish shovelled in by the railway excavators below. The town of Lewes strikes us by the cleanness of its streets, which is, indeed, a usual characteristic of a town built thus upon a hill. It still presents a few specimens of old street architecture, though, as in so many other places, the greater part of the remains of this description have been cleared away before the progress of modern improvements. There are a few other old buildings worthy of remark, but the two objects of most attraction to the antiquarian visitor are the ruins of the castle and the remains of the celebrated priory of St. Pancras. The site of the latter was partially excavated during the formation of the railway, and many interesting objects were discovered, of which a description will be found in Mr. Lower's excellent little "*Hand-book for Lewes.*" Some ancient architectural remains have also been uncovered in the private gardens which here abut on the railway. The stranger should not pass hence without entering the neighbouring church of St. John in Southover, and visiting the beautiful little chapel erected by a native and self-taught architect over the tomb of the princess Gundrada. The remains of Lewes castle consist chiefly of the gateway, and of the keep or citadel, erected on the top of a lofty mound of earth, which has every

appearance of being artificial. Such mounds are often found in the earlier castles, but I cannot help suspecting that they are in all cases of much greater antiquity than the castle itself; when a vast heap of earth like this had been piled up it would hardly require less than a century or two to give it the solidity necessary for supporting a ponderous mass of masonry like a Norman keep. The buildings on the summit of this very lofty mound here consisted of four octagonal towers with curtain walls; two only of the towers remain, and one of them is now tenanted by the Sussex Archaeological Society, and fitted up as a museum. There are several good and zealous antiquaries in the town of Lewes and its neighbourhood, among whom it is only necessary to mention the well-known name of Mark Antony Lower. Its antiquities are not the only attraction of Lewes, for few localities afford finer walks and rides than those furnished by the picturesque downs that immediately surround it.

These various attractions are sufficient to detain the visitor who has time at his command for a day or two at least at Lewes. After leaving the town the railway pursues its course through some of the finest scenery of the South Downs. At first the traveller has high ground stretching to some distance from Lewes on the left, and on the right a long and elevated ridge extending to Alfriston. Beyond and between are lesser undulations. Then again appear the high grounds above the village of Arlington on

the left, and on the other side those above Folkington and Willingdon, the commencement of the hilly country which extends to Beachy Head. Further on he passes through a hilly district, but less marked, until he arrives at the edge of the flat country known as Pevensey Level, and the time-worn walls of Pevensey Castle rise boldly before him.

Many of the hills we have passed are crowned with numerous barrows, or sepulchral mounds, some of them Anglo-Saxon, and others proved by their contents to be of that description which are usually termed Romano-British. Many of them were opened some years ago by Dr. Mantell, one of the best and most popular of our geologists, who was for some years resident at Lewes, of which he was a native, and many of the articles found in them are in his collection now in the British Museum. It is to Dr. Mantell also that we owe the knowledge of the geological wonders of this district; which is further interesting to the naturalist as producing a considerable variety of rare plants. It is the favourite resort of the wheatear (*sylvia oenanthe*), which is caught in great numbers by the shepherds. The grass, growing on a thin crust of mould formed on the chalk, gives a peculiar flavour to the South-down mutton. The valleys, or combs, are in many instances very picturesque. When I visited Pevensey in the spring of the year 1852, I was particularly struck with the abundance and magnitude of the primroses in the green lanes in that neighbourhood. The mound of Lewes Castle

was also covered with them, many being of a beautiful pale pink colour.

Pevensey Castle, with its adjoining villages, is situated on slightly elevated ground, on the edge of the level already mentioned. The walls of the castle are seen from the railway station, from which we pass by a short cross road into the larger road which leads us up to the noble entrance towers, the decuman gate of ancient Anderida. The Roman masonry is here wonderfully perfect; although it has been exposed to the changes of a great part of two thousand years, the mark of the trowel is still visible on the mortar, and many of the facing stones look as fresh as if they had been cut yesterday. The width of the opening between these two towers is now twenty-seven feet, which is too large for the entrance to a strongly-fortified town; but it was perhaps narrowed by stone buildings long cleared away, or this wide opening was only the approach to the narrower gateway into the town. In fact, the visitor no sooner passes this magnificent pile of masonry, than he perceives distinctly by the unevenness of the ground that he is treading upon a complicated mass of foundations of walls which most probably supported the gateway of the town, and the result of a careful excavation of this spot would no doubt be extremely interesting.

The stranger to Pevensey who would appreciate the grandeur of the Roman remains must not at first enter the area, but pursue the road to the left which runs outside





ROMAN TOWER, WITH NORMAN SUPERSTRUCTURE, PEVENSEY.

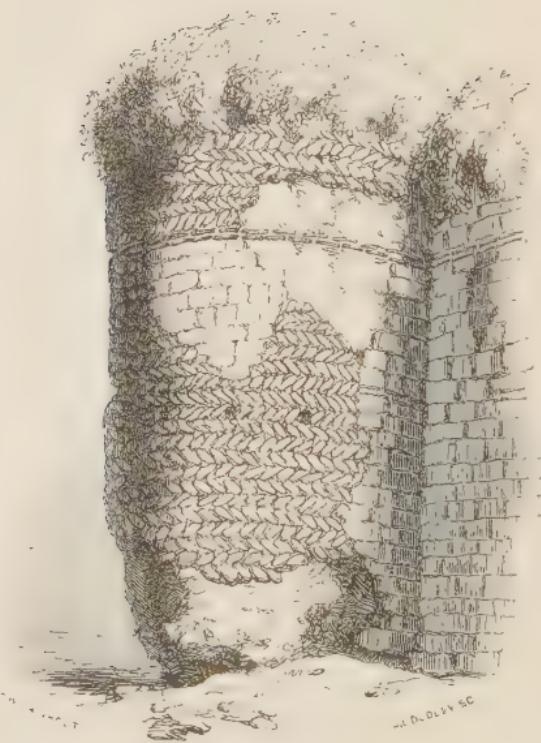
under the northern wall and its massive solid towers. Immediately to the west of the grand entrance a modern house has been built, the pigsties and other outhouses of which conceal a large portion of the wall and the first tower from view. After passing this encumbrance the wall becomes visible, and assumes a bold appearance. Beyond the third tower from the gateway there is a large breach, and the wall disappears altogether for some yards. Here Mr. Roach Smith, examining the foundations from the interior, suspected the existence of a postern gate, and an excavation undertaken at his expense shewed that his experienced eye had not been deceived. The form of this entrance, as it has been but very partially exposed to view, deserves special observation.

The tower next after this breach in the wall is in a good state of preservation, and is remarkable from the circumstance that it bears on its summit a Norman superstructure, no doubt intended as a watch tower, for it commands a very extensive view of the principal approaches to this important fortress. The accompanying sketch was taken from the west, looking towards Pevensey. There is a striking contrast between the rough masonry of the Norman superstructure and the workmanlike finish of the Roman building below. The latter is here extremely well defined. It consists of a regular facing of squared stones, with the usual bonding courses of bricks (a very peculiar characteristic of Roman masonry in this country). Here

and there the place of bricks is supplied by flag or Horsham stone. The interior is filled up with irregular materials, among which liquid mortar was thrown, and the latter (in which we observe at once the mixture of pounded tile so peculiar to the Roman mortar) has become harder than the stone itself. The wall and towers remain for the most part of their original height, which is somewhat more than twenty feet, and they are about ten feet in thickness. It is recorded that at the beginning of the last century, it being necessary to make a watercourse under part of the Roman wall, it was found to be built upon piles, covered with large planks of wood. The Roman walls in this country are usually built thus on wooden planks laid on the surface of the ground; but here the piles seem to have been required by the nature of the ground. The towers, which, as it has been already intimated, consist of a solid mass of masonry, are built into the mass of the wall. This is a peculiarity in the remains at Pevensey, for in most other instances of Roman walls, as at Richborough in Kent, Burgh Castle in Norfolk, &c. the towers have been built after the wall itself, apparently as supports. At Burgh Castle (the *Gariannonum* of the Romans), the towers are actually detached from the wall. The towers at Pevensey are peculiar in form; their plan consists of a square and a semicircle attached to it.

The facing of the walls and towers is in many places dilapidated, especially the lower parts of the towers, which





ROMAN TOWER, WITH SUBSEQUENT REPAIRS, PEVENSEY.

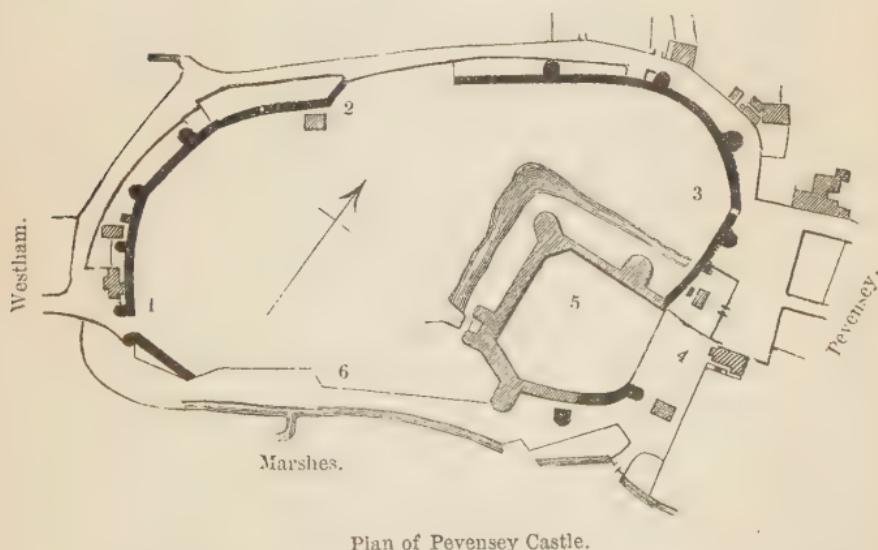
have in several instances been protected by the recent erection of props, one of which is shewn in the preceding cut. In some places breaches in the facing of the wall and towers have evidently been the result of violence, and they speak probably of some of the early sieges to which this fortress was exposed. These breaches are sometimes filled up with repairs of an early date. The most remarkable example of such repairs is shewn in the tower of which the accompanying sketch was made by Mr. Fairholt. Here a large breach has been made in the facing of the tower, which has been repaired with that peculiar style of masonry called herring-bone work, consisting of large flat stones placed in a zig-zag pattern, as shewn in our sketch. This style of masonry was much used by the Romans themselves, but it was also employed by Saxons and Normans to a later period; and, though one would fain see in the sample here figured a memorial of the last struggle of Anderida, yet it must be confessed that there is nothing about it to guide us in fixing its date.

Immediately after this tower a modern arched gateway has been cut through the wall, by which the interior area is entered from the Pevensey side. Mr. Lower and Mr. Figg, who are both excellent judges, and have had good opportunity for examination, are of opinion that there was originally a postern gate here, but if so it has been defaced in making the modern arch. The wall hence continues its course, with one intervening tower, to the

eastern corner, where the Norman castle stands on what seems to have been a lofty artificial mound. It is in the gardens here adjacent to the exterior of the Roman wall, and on the slope of the mound, where we enter the Norman castle, that the greatest number of Roman coins has been found. A portion of another Roman tower, and some fragments of Roman wall, are found on the south-eastern exterior of the Norman castle, after which there are no traces of wall for a considerable distance along the south side of the inclosure. This and the breach on the northern side seem to have been made in comparatively modern times, for, had they existed when the Norman or Edwardian defences were built, they would no doubt have been filled up by walls of that period. On the southern side the wall stood on the edge of rather a steep bank, which seems to have been gradually wearing away till the wall was undermined and fell.

The Roman walls inclose an area of about ten acres. The ground within rises gradually, but very perceptibly, from the west and north, and it is evidently very much raised above its original level. Indeed, one would imagine, from the unevenness of the surface, that, underneath, the whole area is full of the remains of buildings, and a careful excavation would perhaps lay open the floors and streets of the ancient Roman town as they were left after the massacre of its inhabitants by the enraged warriors of *Ælla* and *Cissa*.

The form of the Roman town of Anderida, as defined by its walls, was an irregular oval, extending nearly east and west. Its walls and towers are shown by the black line in the accompanying plan, reduced from an actual survey by Mr. William Figg, of Lewes, where 1 indicates the grand entrance, or decuman gate; 2, the postern discovered by Mr. Roach Smith; and 3, the entrance into the castle from the village of Pevensey. 4 is the spot in the neighbourhood of which the Roman coins are chiefly found. Along the southern side, at 6, a considerable portion of the walls has disappeared.



Plan of Pevensey Castle.

The Norman castle occupies nearly an acre and a half of the interior area, at the south-eastern corner (5 in the plan). It forms an irregular pentagon, round a large

mound, so that the small interior court is much higher than the ground outside. The buildings are in a very ruinous state; but three of the towers are standing, and the gateway, flanked by two towers, is sufficiently preserved to enable us to understand its plan and arrangement. This latter faces as near as may be the grand entrance of the Roman inclosure, and it is quite evident that in this, and more especially in the external forms of the towers round the castle, the medieval architect imitated the Roman models before him. I speak of it as the Norman castle, but there are many peculiarities in its architecture which render it doubtful how much of it belongs to the Norman period and how much to a later date. This castle is separated from the rest of the area by a moat, over which a drawbridge led to the entrance. The little court within the castle, which has a deep well in the middle, is a favourite place for pic-nic parties, and the highest part affords an extensive view of the country around, reaching southward over the bay, from Beachy Head to Hastings.

On the outside of the decuman gate the village of Westham, with its fine church, extends on both sides of the road, and presents some good examples of old timber houses. This was no doubt the great road leading from Anderida to the Roman towns along the southern coast of Britain. It had been deserted at an early period, for after leaving Westham its direct course is now covered by corn-fields and pastures. When I visited Pevensey in the spring

of this year (1852), in company with Mr. Lower and another zealous antiquary of Lewes, Mr. W. Figg, and Mr. E. B. Price, it was partly with the object of examining this road. We easily traced its course along the ploughed fields by a broad line of large stones and mortar mixed among the soil, which had been torn up by the ploughshare. On digging, we found the road itself about a foot underground, paved with large round stones from the sea-beach set in mortar. This road points directly towards Lewes, and I believe has been traced almost to that town, very near which it must have passed. Coins and other antiquities found at Lewes in considerable numbers seem to prove that that town must have been a Roman settlement of some kind, and some antiquaries have conjectured that it was the town or station mentioned in the geography of the anonymous writer of Ravenna under the name of *Mutuantonis*, or, according to the reading of one manuscript, *Mantuantonis*, as being somewhere in the same part of the island as *Anderida*. It must be stated, however, that this can be taken only as a very vague conjecture, for no information whatever is given as to the exact position of *Mutuantonis*.

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Since the foregoing description of the remains of *Anderida* was written, a subscription has been opened for carrying on extensive excavations on the site under the directions of Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Lower, which

have been commenced with considerable success. They began with the great western gateway, and within the massive towers which protected it were discovered the lower part of buildings, constructed of massive stones, which had formed the gate-house, and through which, no doubt under an arch, a passage, only wide enough to allow a narrow carriage to pass, led into the town. The excavation, continued along the interior of the town wall, for a short distance on each side, exposed the lower part of the wall to view with its original facing in a state of great perfection; and trenches dug from the wall inwards at various points along the northern side of the area, showed that there had been no building adjoining to the town wall. A clear road seems to have run all round at the foot of it. I have already mentioned the curious postern-gate discovered by Mr. Roach Smith in the middle of the northern wall; and the conjecture that the doorway in the eastern wall, leading to the village of Pevensey, was an ancient gate, has been fully confirmed by the excavations on the present occasion, which have exposed to view the set-off course and the lower stones of the ancient entrance. Among the most interesting discoveries yet made are those on the southern side of the area; where it has proved, as I always suspected, that the bank covered the remains of the Roman wall, which originally inclosed the town on this side. The wall was found in some parts tolerably perfect, and it had been supported by towers similar to those in

the other part of the circuit; but it had fallen, apparently by the giving way of the bank, and has been broken to pieces in the fall, some of the fragments lying under what appear to be inequalities in the ground below. This southern wall ran nearly in a straight line to a point near that marked 6 in our plan, where it made a turn at right angles for two or three yards, and was then continued in a line parallel to its original direction. In the short return wall was another postern gate, the exact form of which cannot easily be made out on account of the displacement caused by the partial falling of the wall. It is thus satisfactorily proved that the Roman town of Anderida was entirely surrounded by the wall; and it is probable that the fall of the portion of the southern wall now brought to light occurred at no very remote period, as there are no traces of a Norman wall built to supply its place.

The more recent excavations have had for their object to investigate the character of the Norman fortress in the south-eastern corner of the area, the shattered remains of which were much clogged up with the accumulation of earth. It was previously apparent that the Normans, in erecting their castle, had taken advantage of the Roman wall and towers of this part of the area; but the recent investigation, as far as it was carried, led to the belief that there may have existed here in Roman times a raised earthwork and buildings, which caused it to be chosen for the site of the Norman donjon. In the high part of the

castle itself, the masonry was found to be of a much earlier character than that of the medieval walls and towers which surround the court below, and its character is so peculiar that it has been suggested that it formed perhaps a portion of a Saxon fortress erected upon this spot; although, as the walls and towers alluded to are not apparently of very early work (perhaps late Norman and Transition), this more ancient masonry may belong to the castle built by William the Conqueror's half-brother, Robert Earl of Mortaigne. But one of the most curious discoveries was made in excavating within the court, where there appears to be a great accumulation of earth. In digging a trench in this small area, the workmen came to the foundations of the ancient chapel, which was a small building in the middle of the court, in the form of a rectangular parallelogram. The rude Norman font was found standing in its place; and three skeletons were disinterred, which appeared to have been laid in the ground without coffins or any other protection.

I believe that, for some reason or other, permission has not been given to excavate in the interior of the area of the Roman town, which is to be regretted, although the few experiments which have been made seem to show that the site of the ancient town had been very much disturbed by the Norman castle-builders. In one or two instances where a trench was dug a short distance inward from the walls, it appeared as if the Normans had brought immense

quantities of clay and cast it within the area to raise the ground. Still, if a deep trench were dug across the area, we can hardly doubt but it would throw some further light on the character of the ancient town. The few relics of antiquity found in the course of the excavations consisted chiefly of broken pottery and coins, with the bones of animals. I myself picked up a fine tusk of a boar, which had probably been killed by the Roman hunters in the forest of Anderida.

There can be no doubt that Anderida was an important Roman town, and probably some of its importance arose from its standing on the edge of the great weald or forest which supplied the Romans with iron from the earliest period of their knowledge of the island. The weald district spreads out from the north-western boundary of Sussex, in an easterly direction towards the coast of Kent. At the western extremity of Sussex the weald is at least fourteen or fifteen miles from the coast, which it approaches very gradually as it runs eastward, until it reaches Pevensey, where it is but a short distance from the sea. Beyond this point, Pevensey Level intervenes, and the weald leaves the coast till we come to Bexhill, from which place the weald forms the coast until it reaches Winchelsea. Here the levels again present themselves, and the weald is separated from the coast by Romney Marsh, never to approach it again. To the north it makes a wide sweep through Kent and Surrey, reaching almost to Maidstone

and Guildford. Geologically speaking, this district presents three principal strata or beds; first, or uppermost, what is called the weald clay, next the Hastings sands, and in the third place, the "Ashburnham beds." The weald clay forms a zone running round the Hastings sands from Pevensey by Petworth to Tunbridge and the Isle of Oxney in Kent, and includes the celebrated Petworth and Bethersden marbles. The extensive bed of the Hastings sands extends from Bexhill in Sussex to Ham-street in Kent, forming, as their name implies, the coast at Hastings, and running inland to Crowborough Hill near Tunbridge Wells. The iron-ore is found in the ferruginous sands of the Hastings and Ashburnham beds, but principally in the vast beds of sandstone forming what is named locally the Forest Ridge, extending inland from Hastings in a direction nearly west, and rising in certain parts, as at Crowborough, to an elevation of above 800 feet above the level of the sea. It was on the slopes of this ridge that the British or Roman miners established themselves.

Railways have made this district far more easy of access than it was in former times. Taking the train from Lewes at the Pevensey station, a distance of six miles and a half across Pevensey Level brings the traveller to the station at Bexhill on the border of the weald, where it approaches the coast. Hence hilly ground skirts the coast all the way to the modern town of St. Leonard's and the ancient town of Hastings, where the extremity of the hill rises boldly

towards the sea, and is crowned by the ruins of the ancient Norman castle. From St. Leonard's or Hastings a beautiful ride, varied with fine distant views and deep woody gorges in the hill, over the high ridge which extends behind Hastings from Fairlight down to Battle, takes us into the valley of Seddlescombe, where we are in the middle of the Roman iron-works. I had an opportunity of examining this ground when on a visit to an excellent friend, Hercules Sharpe, Esq., of Oaklands, in the parish of Seddlescombe. The house at Oaklands stands on the slope of the hill looking towards the north; and in cutting a road to it through the grounds, it was found that for a considerable extent the whole bank was composed of iron cinders, of great antiquity evidently, for large oaks stood upon the surface. In one place, where they were dug up for the purpose of making the road, the bed of cinders was found to be not less than 20 feet deep. The period to which these cinders belonged was here made evident by the discovery of several Roman coins, one of which, of the Emperor Diocletian, is still in the possession of Mr. Sharpe. Here, as in the Forest of Dean, the ore has been very imperfectly smelted. If we ascend the hill immediately behind Mr. Sharpe's house, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, we find, in a small copse, one of the places from whence the Roman miners extracted their ore. The wood is full of small round pits or holes, at present from two to three feet deep, and in digging into them with

a pick we turn up quantities of nodular stones, in appearance and in the manner they lie together very much like gigantic potatoes. These nodular concretions are formed of the clay-ironstone of this district, and often consist of an outer-shell of iron ore with a nucleus of sand. Groups of these pits, always covered with under-wood and trees, are found often in this neighbourhood. The smelting furnaces, which seem to have been always placed on the slope of the hills near the bottom, probably to facilitate the running out of the melted metal, appear to have been of a very rude construction. The fuel used was charcoal, pieces of which are often found impressed in the cinders. The iron ore, broken up, was placed in alternate layers with charcoal, and limestone was thrown in as a flux. When the mass was filled high enough, it was surrounded and covered with a wall of clay, having holes at the bottom for letting in the draught and allowing the melted metal to run out. This is believed to be the usual method of smelting among the Romans in Britain.

Among the hills on the opposite side of the valley from Oaklands, are other groups of pits and masses of cinders, and traces of what appear to have been tanks for water. Roman coins have also been found among these remains, and Mr. Robert Mereer, who lives in the immediate neighbourhood, possesses a very fine stone axe which was found here. The discovery of a stone weapon or tool in the midst of the iron-works is certainly a curious fact. In the

parish of Maresfield, further to the west, are extensive beds of these iron cinders, which are thickly scattered with Roman coins, fragments of Roman pottery (including the red pottery called Samian ware), fibulæ, and other articles. Mr. Lower, who has given a most interesting paper on the iron-works of Sussex in the second volume of the Sussex Archaeological Collections, tells us that the remains of Roman pottery are here so abundant, that scarcely a barrow-load of cinders is removed which does not contain several fragments of it. The coins examined by Mr. Lower were of the emperors Nero, Vespasian, Tetricus, and Diocletian.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ROMAN POTTERIES ON THE BANKS OF THE MEDWAY.

It was a bright and beautiful day in the month of May, 1846, when a few friends, all interested more or less in antiquarian pursuits, assembled at Strood, in Kent, at the invitation of Mr. Humphrey Wickham of that place, a gentleman well known to archaeologists for his numerous and interesting discoveries on the site of one of the cemeteries of the Roman city of *Durobrivæ* (Rochester) which lay at Strood. Our party consisted of Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Fairholt, Mr. Jerdan (of the *Literary Gazette*), Mr. A. J. Dunkin, Mr. Wickham, myself, and one or two others. A fine yacht, which had been lent us for the occasion, waited upon us in Chatham harbour.

After a hearty breakfast at Strood, a prudent preparation for such an excursion, we went on board our craft, which was immediately put under weigh, and we were soon sailing down the waters of the Medway; I might well have added, joyously, for there is nothing more exhilarating than an excursion on the water in one of the smiling days of spring. The banks of the Medway, so fine above Rochester bridge, are below Chatham nowhere very interesting, and they

soon become extremely flat, with ground rising a little behind, on which we may trace here and there the tower of a village church. We pass on the left Upnor castle, and on the right Gillingham, two of the defences of Britain in the olden time, and then we come upon low level ground, extending from Gillingham to the Isle of Sheppey, and known as Gillingham, Upchurch, and Halstow marshes, from the three parishes over which they extend. They are not correctly described by their name of *marshes*, as they can hardly be called marshes in the usual acceptation of the term; the ground is in fact hard, but it lies upon a very tenacious and fine clay, its level being a little above that of the river at high water, and the latter has cut it into innumerable little creeks and channels. It was at the mouth of one of the larger creeks, known by the name of Otterham creek, which runs in a winding course from the Medway up to the western boundary of the village of Upchurch, that we cast anchor.

It is time that I should state the object of our little voyage. Various accidental discoveries made of late years had shown that these marshes are the site of very extensive Roman potteries, which must, from appearances, have been worked during the whole period of the Roman occupation of the island. In many parts along the sides of the creeks, where the sea has broken away the ground and left a perpendicular or almost a perpendicular bank, we can see running along at a depth of from two to three feet a regular

layer, in many places a foot thick, of Roman pottery, most of it in fragments, but here and there a perfect or nearly perfect vessel, and mixed with lumps of half-burnt clay. The bed of the creek is formed of the clay in a liquid state, forming a fine and very tenacious mud; this is completely filled with the Roman pottery, which is more easily procured in the mud than in the bank, and with less danger of breaking the perfect specimens. The latter may be felt by pushing a stick about in the mud. When I say more *easily* found, I mean by those who have no objection to trusting themselves into the mud, with the hope of getting out of it again.

Having dropped our anchor at the mouth of Otterham creek, as I have already stated, we lowered our two boats. We had previously prepared ourselves for the adventure by laying aside such parts of our clothing as we did not wish to spoil, putting on immense water-boots, which enveloped most of us nearly to the middle, and shielding our heads with those impenetrable coverings known as "sou' westers." Thus equipped, and carrying each of us a light spade, or at least a stick, we took to our boats and ascended the creek. After some rowing, we came to a spot where the appearance of the banks told us that there must be abundance of pottery, and here we run our boats on the mud, and jumped into it ourselves. It must be borne in mind, that we had so chosen our time as to arrive there when the tide was almost out, and when therefore





OTTERHAM CREEK.

there was a wide surface of mud left uncovered between the water and the bank. The mud, it must be observed, had no definite bottom. At the surface it was simply clay kept in a liquid state by being constantly covered by the tide. A little beneath it was rather stiffer, and as one sank deeper and deeper the consistence increased gradually, until no doubt at some unknown depth it became hard. This conjectural depth, however, was so far beyond our geological knowledge or our power of fathoming, that we were obliged to keep in almost constant motion that we might not sink too far ourselves, and withal the clay mud was so tenacious that motion itself was not always possible. It was a common occurrence for one of us to get his leg so fast that he was obliged to call in the aid of one of his companions to help him to pull it out; and even when a foot had sunk to a very inconsiderable depth, its unfortunate possessor, in his attempt at progression, was often thrown on his hands and knees, in which case his arms invariably went in almost up to the shoulders, or he was made to roll over in a contrary direction. Towards the close of the exploring expedition, when the tide was coming in rather rapidly, I actually found one of our most distinguished archaeologists, who had been unconsciously sinking gradually, while occupied with a remarkably rich bed of pottery, imbedded himself to such a degree, that I had literally to dig a trench round him to set him free, obliged all the while to move about rapidly myself to avoid

a similar fate. All these accidents, however, helped to keep up the mirth and amusement of this extraordinary exploration, and we spent two or three hours very agreeably, dabbling about in the mud and the water, to the no small annoyance of multitudes of shrimps and small crabs, the latter of which were running about like so many very large spiders. Our proceedings, it may be added, were venturesome enough to be not altogether agreeable to one or two of our party, who preferred basking in the sun on the more solid bank, and looking on at the freaks of their companions.

We had soon collected a very considerable quantity of samples of Roman pottery, of a great variety of forms and patterns, though we had not been very successful in finding perfect vessels. Many of our fragments, however, were sufficiently large to shew us the original shape and character of the vessels to which they belonged, and they always possessed the classic elegance of form characteristic of Roman art in all its branches. The pottery made here was of an inferior kind to that made in the no less extensive works which have been discovered at the northern *Durobrivæ* (Castor, on the eastern borders of Northamptonshire). Nevertheless, the Roman pottery of the Medway is of a fine and hard texture. Its colour is usually a blue-black, which was produced by baking it in the smoke of vegetable substances, in what have been designated by Mr. Artis, the discoverer of the *Durobri-*

vian potteries, smother-kilns. The ornaments of the pottery found in these marshes are simple in character, but very diversified. They often consist of bands of half-circles, made with compasses, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes combined with lines drawn from the half-circles to the bottoms of the vessels, with an instrument like a notched piece of wood. Some of the samples of this ware are ornamented with wavy intersections and zigzag lines, while on others the ornament is formed by raised points, encircling the vessels in bands, or grouped into circles, squares, and diamond patterns. In other examples the ornament is more simple, consisting merely of parallel or crossed lines. Lines crossed diamond-wise, like network, form a very common ornament. A few samples of



Roman Pottery from the Upchurch Marshes.

this pottery, to furnish a general notion of its character, are given in the accompanying cut. Some specimens of a red ware have been found in Otterham creek and its neighbourhood; they are of the same kind of clay, but were made by subjecting it to a stronger degree of heat in the burning. The vessels of this red ware are usually bottle-shaped, with narrow necks and with handles.

The most extraordinary circumstance connected with these layers of pottery is their great extent. They have as yet been only very partially explored; but they have been found within the parish of Gillingham, and again on the edge of the flat land or marshes towards the isle of Sheppey, and they have been discovered on every point which has yet been examined between these extremes, a distance of not less than seven or eight miles. In the transverse direction, the site of the potteries extends as much as three miles. The bed of pottery is, as before stated, usually nearly a foot thick. In the mud of the creeks it is found in such quantities that you may often thrust your arm down and bring up a handful of it, and it so hard that you run the risk of cutting your fingers with the fragments. From an examination of the fragments as they lie, and of the more perfect specimens found among them, we can have no doubt of their being the refuse of the kilns of the potters, who, it seems, gradually moved along in the course of years, or rather of ages, using up the clay, which is peculiarly well calculated for the pur-

pose, and throwing their refuse—the broken and damaged pottery—on the land which they had exhausted, until this extensive tract of ground became covered with it. The channel of the Medway appears then to have been narrower than at present, and these—as they are now called—marshes were then not subject in the same manner to the influx of the sea. The Romans left them, either when they left these potteries to seek some new site, or when Saxon invaders drove the inhabitants away, a mere wide field of broken pottery. This was gradually covered by alluvial soil to the depth of two or three feet; at some subsequent period the sea has scooped this ground into creeks and channels, till it looks almost like a great honeycomb; and thus the bed of pottery was again brought to light. What were the changes through which the river has gone during this known period, and what were their causes, are questions not unworthy of the consideration of the geologist.

Mr. Roach Smith has examined this district more extensively than any one else, and he has traced, on the high grounds behind, indications of buildings, which no doubt mark the site of a village or small town inhabited by the potters and their masters or overseers. "In the Halstow marshes," he says, "I noticed, at a particular spot, a considerable quantity of tiles and stones, which I could not positively identify as having been used in buildings; but adjoining the church, near the creek, there are abundance of fragments of tiles of various kinds, that clearly show the

locality to have been the site of buildings, which, if we may judge from their *debris*, must have been tolerably extensive. On the sides of the church, facing the creek, an embankment has been thrown up to protect the land from the sea; this defence is filled with broken tiles and pottery, which also literally cover the shores. The church itself, probably of Saxon origin, has a large quantity of Roman masonry worked into the walls; and in a field, west of the church, in the side of a well sunk for water for the purposes of brick-making, I noticed a tier of Roman tiles, which appeared to be part of a hypocaust." The high grounds behind the Upchurch marshes, beginning at the head of Otterham creek, were the site of a Roman cemetery belonging no doubt to the settlement at Halslow. Sepulchral deposits of urns and calcined bones are frequently met with there, and in one of them was found a large brass coin of Antoninus Pius.

The whole of this extensive and little known district deserves a much more careful exploration. Our researches, in the visit I have been describing, were entirely confined to Otterham creek. After passing the greater part of the day very pleasantly in the mud, until the tide flowing in was rapidly covering it, we gathered ourselves together in the boats, and rowed down to our yacht. We had taken abundance of provisions on board at Chatham, and the exercise of the day combined with the bracing sea air had put us in a condition to make a rather alarming attack on

the dinner. When this matter was fully discussed, we were again speedily under sail, and reached our station at Chatham as dusk of evening was beginning to set in; and it was fortunate that it was so, for when we landed from our boats at Strood, it appeared, in spite of all our precautions of watermen's boots and sou'-westers, as if we had been trying to show what a mess an antiquary can make of himself if you only give him mud enough to roll in !

## CHAPTER IX.

THE VALLEY OF MAIDSTONE—KITS COTY HOUSE AND THE  
CROMLECHS AROUND.

The road from Rochester to Maidstone furnishes an extremely picturesque drive. A little above the city, the Medway flows in a narrow valley, between two ranges of hills, one of which runs westwardly almost parallel with the Thames, while the other takes a south-eastern direction till it joins in with the chalk-hills behind Folkestone. The road we are pursuing lies along the latter range: the scenery becomes picturesque as we clear the Bridge woods, and after passing the Upper Bell the road runs at a considerable elevation on the edge of the hill, and an extensive view spreads itself before us towards the west. This view is nowhere so grand as at the point just above the celebrated cromlech known by the name of Kits Coty House, where a tolerably good modern inn stands by the road-side.

A cromlech is a rude chamber constructed of massive flat stones, three forming usually its three sides, the fourth being open, and a fourth flat stone serving for a roof.

There can be little doubt that monuments of this description belong to the ancient Britons, because they are certainly not more modern than the Roman period, while they are as certainly not Roman, and they are found in great numbers in Ireland, where a Celtic population was established. The old antiquaries, who were accustomed to form theories without sufficiently examining into facts, called these monuments druids' altars, believed that they were used for human sacrifices, and hazarded strange descriptions of the rites which were supposed to have been celebrated upon them. But the increased knowledge on these subjects has left no room for doubt that the cromlechs are nothing more than sepulchral chambers. The ashes of the dead—for in most of these interments we find that the bodies of the deceased had been burnt—were collected into an urn of rude pottery, and placed, with a few other articles, within the chamber, and the whole was then covered with a mound. In opening many such mounds in different parts of the kingdom, the cromlech, with the sepulchral deposit within, have been found perfect; where the cromlech is now found exposed to view without a mound, it has been robbed of its covering of earth, by accident or design, at some remote period. Cromlechs and sepulchral mounds are often placed on the summits of hills; that of Kits Coty House occupies a boldly prominent position, on the top of a high and steep knoll, which is backed to the east by the chalk-hill, and

commands towards the west a very extensive view over the valley of Maidstone. To give my readers a notion of the size of this cromlech, I may state that of the two side supporting stones, one measures seven feet by seven and a half, and is two feet thick, weighing about eight and a half tons; the other is eight feet by eight and a half, and weighs about eight tons. The enormous capstone is twelve feet by nine and a quarter, and two and a half feet thick, and it weighs about ten tons and a half.

The great cromlech of Kits Coty House has been celebrated from a remote period. An old and absurd story—true only so far as it acknowledges this monument to have been sepulchral—pretends that Kits Coty House was raised over the remains of the British chief Catigern, slain in a battle fought at Aylesford between the Britons and the Saxons. It is nevertheless far from being, as we might suppose from these notices of it, a solitary monument; on the contrary, it is the centre of a considerable group, the remains of which are seen scattered over the fields below. One of the most remarkable of these, a large group of colossal stones in the middle of a field just beneath Kits Coty House, is called by the peasantry The Countless Stones, from a belief among them that no one can count them correctly. This is not an uncommon legend connected with such remains. The Countless Stones near Kits Coty House are apparently the remains of one of those more complicated cromlechs, consisting of

more than one sepulchral chamber, with an alley of approach, which in Britany and the Channel Islands are popularly known by the title of Fairies' Alleys. Another large stone in the bottom is called the Coffin-stone, probably from its shape. If, instead of descending the hill, we proceed upwards from Kits Coty House, we shall find the brow of the hill covered with smaller monuments of the same description, consisting generally of groups of stones buried partly in the ridge of the hill, but evidently forming, or having formed, small sepulchral chambers. Each group is generally surrounded by a circle of stones. At the bottom of the bank near the road, a little distance behind Kits Coty House, is a hollow in the chalk, with the heads of large stones of the same description projecting out at each side, as though they had formed an avenue leading to an entrance in the side of the hill. All this group of monuments deserves further examination, combined with extensive excavations. They appear to have formed a British cemetery—the necropolis of the tribe. Fragments of rude pottery have I believe been discovered under Kits Coty House itself, and several deposits of British coins have occurred in the neighbourhood, the most recent example being that of a number of British silver coins found in digging for the foundations of the new mansion of Preston Hall, the seat of Mr. Betts, about two years ago.

It was in an attempt to carry on some excavations

among the monuments just mentioned on the brow of the hill above Kits Coty House, during the time we were digging into the barrow at Hoborough, that I made a very singular discovery. At several places in this part of Kent, especially on and near the high ridge which runs to the westward, there have been observed deep pits, evidently of a very remote antiquity. They consist of a large circular shaft, descending like a well, and opening at the bottom into one or more chambers. These pits have been a subject of much dispute among the older antiquaries, some believing them to be the dwellings of the ancient Britons, others conjecturing that they were Roman storehouses, and I think some have hazarded still more extravagant opinions. On Friday, the 23rd of August, 1844, having obtained permission to excavate in the estate belonging to Preston Hall, which extends over the top of this hill, I took some labourers with me, as I have just mentioned, to examine the ground behind Kits Coty House. I had already set the men to work, when I learned that the group of monuments on which I was engaged, and which were those that interested me most, were within another property, and therefore that I was trespassing. Disappointed by this information, I proceeded further on the top of the hill into what I knew to be the Preston Hall property, and on the ground just within the limits of Aylesford common I found single stones, closely resembling those of which the cromlechs below are built, but lying

flat on the ground. My first impression was that they were the capstones of cromlechs, or sepulchral chambers, buried under the ground, and, having singled out one of them, I set the men to dig under the side of it. When they got below the edge they found they were digging among a mass of flints, which had evidently been placed there by design; I then caused the men to continue the excavation to a greater distance round, and, to my surprise, I found that this immense stone was laid over the mouth of a large circular pit which had first been filled up to the top with flints. To attempt to proceed any further without a greater number of men than I had with me would have been useless. But, just as I was leaving it, some of the cottagers on the top of the hill—squatters—informed me that these pits were frequently found on that hill, and that generally they had one or two of the large stones at the mouth. When, a few years before, a new road was made over the brow of the hill, and flints were sought for that purpose, the labourers discovered these pits and partly emptied some of them, which they found much more profitable than seeking the flints on the surface of the chalk. One was shown to me which had been emptied to a depth of about ten feet, and had been discontinued on account of the labour of throwing the flints up. The pit here bore so close a resemblance to one of the open pits on the hills opposite, which I had previously examined, and which was somewhat more than twenty feet deep, with a small

door at the bottom leading into a square chamber, that I concluded, if emptied, it would present throughout the same appearance. From this circumstance I am inclined to suspect that the chambers at the bottom of the pits were intended for sepulchral purposes. Tombs of this description have been found in Etruria, and in the East. In the present case, perhaps, the deceased was laid in the chamber, and then the pit was filled up with flints, and covered with an enormous capstone to mark the site. Those that are now found open may have been opened for some reason or other in the middle ages. We might indeed presume at once they were sepulchral, from the circumstance of their being here found among the cromlechs.

After leaving the single stone under which we had been digging, I accidentally discovered, a little below, in a sheltered nook of the hill, extensive traces of Roman buildings, which deserved a much more careful examination than I was then able to give them. The spot was a short distance to the south of that on which Mr. Charles, of Maidstone, had discovered a Roman burial ground, and was evidently the site of a villa. The cottagers or squatters on the hill told me that they found coins and pottery over a large extent of surface round this spot, which was then covered with low brushwood, and had never been disturbed by the plough. I uncovered a few square yards of a floor of large bricks, which had evidently been broken up, and were mixed with roof-tiles, and others which

appeared like cornice-mouldings. They were literally covered with broken pottery of every description, among which I picked up several fragments of fine Samian ware, mixed with a few human bones, some small nails, and traces of burnt wood, which seemed to indicate that the buildings had been destroyed by fire, perhaps in the wars which followed the departure of the Roman legions from the island. The floor lay at a depth of from a foot to a foot and a half below the present surface of the ground, and was only two or three inches above the surface of the chalk. Near it we traced, for a short distance, a transverse wall.

A pleasant country lane leads from Kits Coty House down to the village of Aylesford, which is pretended to be the site of a great battle between the Saxons and the Romano-British population, but it is by no means improbable that this battle is a mere legend founded upon the number of sepulchral monuments scattered around. The cromlechs and other sepulchral remains are by no means confined to this spot. As we proceed along the valley to the west we again meet with these monuments. My attention was first called to them by a friend who is well known for his antiquarian and historical researches relating to the county of Kent, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, vicar of Ryarsh, who, having lived among them since his childhood, was to me not only a learned but an experienced guide. A short time before my attempted excavations on

the hill behind Kits Coty House, we had made an antiquarian survey of the two parishes of Ryarsh and Addington, in which these remains principally lie. In the park of the Hon. J. Wingfield Stratford, in the latter parish (which adjoins that of Ryarsh on the west, and is situated about a mile from the Vigo chalk-hill, part of the ridge which bounds the valley of Maidstone to the north,) are two circles of large stones (long known to antiquaries), and near them is an isolated mass of similar large stones, which appeared to me to be the covering of a subterranean structure. Within the smaller circle are traces of large capstones, which probably form the coverings of cromlechs or sepulchral chambers. It should be remarked that the ground within this smaller circle appears raised, as though it were the remains of a mound which perhaps was never completed. In the southern part of this parish are several immense cones of earth, veritable pyramids, which have every appearance of being artificial, and ought to be excavated. To give an idea of their magnitude, I need only state that the church of Addington is built on the top of one of them. Mr. Larking has since made some excavations at one of the cromlechs of the parish of Addington, the only result of which was the discovery of some fragments of rude pottery, but they were attended with a circumstance which shows how long the ancient superstitions connected with such monuments have lasted. He had fixed on the site for excavating one afternoon, when the

keeper happened accidentally to be present. Early in the forenoon of the next day, Mr. Larking, with some workmen, proceeded to the spot, and he was rather surprised to find the keeper and an assistant waiting for him with picks and spades, and to see them work during the excavation with extraordinary vigour and earnestness. As the day passed on, and nothing but a few bits of pottery turned up, disappointment was visible in the features of the keeper, which became still more apparent when they all quitted their work and prepared for their departure. Before they separated, however, he communicated to my excellent friend the cause which made him work so diligently—in the preceding night he had dreamed that the cromlech contained a large crock of gold, and he was in hopes to be the fortunate discoverer of it !

From the two circles in Addington Park we continued our walk towards the north. At no great distance from them, in a field at the foot of the hill adjacent to a farm named Coldrum Lodge, is another smaller circle of stones, and similar appearances of a subterranean cromlech in the middle. At the top of the Ryarsh chalk hill, just above Coldrum, we observed two large stones, resembling those which form the circle below, lying flat on the ground, and near them is the mouth of a circular well about twenty feet deep, and not less than ten in diameter, with a doorway at the bottom leading into a chamber cut in the chalk. This is the pit already referred to. The two stones may have

been removed from its mouth, or they may cover pits not yet opened. In the wood behind this pit, which runs along the top of the hill, and is known by the name of Poundgate or White Horse Wood, there are said to be other masses of these large stones. The ground is covered with underwood, and on the occasion of my visit we did not attempt to penetrate it.

Proceeding from the circle at Coldrum, towards the east, we observed single stones, of the same kind and of colossal magnitude, scattered over the fields for some distance; and it is the tradition of the peasantry that a continuous line of such stones ran from Coldrum direct along the valley to the hill of Kits Coty House, a distance of between five and six miles. Mr. Larking and myself traced these stones in the line through a great portion of the distance, and their existence probably gave rise to the tradition. I was informed that they had even been found in the bed of the river, where there seems to have been an ancient ford. It must be remarked that these stones, or boulders, belong to the geological formation of this district, and many of them may have obtained their present position by natural causes;\* but, from a tolerably careful exami-

\* Mr. Mackie, of Folkestone, has favoured me with the following remarks on this subject:—"These Druid stones are the sand-stones of the tertiary period, and are to be found *in situ* at Herne Bay; and the red loam or drift found on the top of the chalk hills is the remains of the tertiary beds that have once extended over the whole area, and in





ROMAN BARROW AT HOBOROUGH.

nation, we were led to believe that there had once existed an avenue of stones connecting the cemetery around Kits Coty House with that in the parish of Addington—together they seem to have formed the grand necropolis of the Belgian settlers in this part of the island. The whole district is thus interesting as one of our hallowed sites, while the footsteps of the wanderer are drawn to it by its rich scenery, diversified with pastures, cornfields, and hop-grounds, plentifully intermingled with woods and copses. Nor was it the Britons alone who have left here traces of their occupation; I have already mentioned the Roman villa on the top of the hill, and there is scarcely a field through the whole valley, especially as we approach the banks of the Medway, in which we may not find some traces of Roman buildings or Roman burial-places.

It was in the latter part of the August of 1844 that I accompanied Lord Albert Conyngham (now Lord Londesborough) on a visit to the Friars at Aylesford, for the purpose of opening a large Roman barrow or sepulchral mound in the adjoining parish of Snodland. On the northern boundary of this parish the ground rises into a bold knoll, the summit of which bears the appearance of

this drift, enormous boulders of Druid and ferruginous sandstones are very common. Many of the stones near Kits Coty House I am of opinion have been artificially placed, if not actually brought there from a distance; while others are decidedly in their natural position in the diluvial soil."

having been cut into an encampment. Just beneath the brow of the hill, looking towards the south, is the barrow which was the object of our visit. In the fields on the slope of the hill, descending from it, we picked up bits of Roman tile and pottery, which showed that the spot had been formerly occupied by that people; and at the foot of the hill is a small hamlet, which, with the hill, is named Hoborough, or Holborough. In ancient documents the word is written Holanbeorge, Holanberghe, &c. which would seem to mean *the hollow borough*, or the borough with a hollow or cave. The word which has usually been corrupted into borough, or bury, was generally applied by our Saxon forefathers to a fortified station, though in some cases it is merely another form of the word *barrow*, applied to a sepulchral mound. Here, however, it has probably its more usual meaning, which would confirm our suspicion that the top of the knoll owes its fortified appearance to the hands of man. The barrow, which was a large one and very near the top of the hill, commands a magnificent view over the vale of Maidstone, which spreads itself in a rich panorama around.

Our party at the “digging” consisted of our kind and hospitable host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Whatman of the Friars, Lord Albert Conyngham, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking of Ryarsh, the Rev. Mr. Phelps of Snodland, and two or three other ladies and gentlemen from the neighbourhood. As the barrow was of large dimensions, we had engaged some





DIGGING THE BARROW

twelve or fourteen labourers, and, having determined to cut a trench of about six feet wide through the centre of the barrow from east to west, we commenced both ends of the trench at the same time, and divided the men between the two excavations. A rough sketch which I took on the spot, when the excavation was tolerably advanced on the east side, will give the reader some idea of the method on which we went to work. It was the labour of four long days to cut entirely through the barrow; but we who were not absolutely diggers contrived to pass our time to the full satisfaction of all the party. We had hired one of the boats which are used in this part of the country for carrying the amateur toxophilites along the Medway to their archery meetings; and each morning, after an early breakfast, we were rowed several miles down the river, which is here picturesque and singularly tortuous, to the place of landing. A plentiful supply of provisions had been procured for pic-nicing on the hill, and we remained by the barrow all day, watching and directing the operations. Unfortunately, it was one of those large barrows which do not repay the labour of cutting through them; and, although the final result was interesting in itself, we all felt somewhat of disappointment as our men laboured hour after hour, and no sepulchral chamber presented itself, and not even a burial-urn could be found to reward our patience. Two or three small fragments of broken pottery were all the articles

which occurred in the body of the mound, until we came to the floor on which it had been raised. We contrived to pass our time, at intervals between digging and picnicing, in games of various descriptions—not exactly such as those which the builders of the mound celebrated when they laid the deceased on his funeral pile—and in other amusements. The season was fortunately exquisitely fine, and it was only once or twice that we were visited with a heavy shower from the south-west, when the only shelter near was afforded by the hole we had ourselves dug on the western side of the mound, in which we managed so to interlace parasols and umbrellas—much as the Roman soldiers are said to have joined together their shields when advancing to the attack of a fortress—as to form a tolerably impenetrable roof over our heads. The neighbourhood was not very populous, and during the first three days our visitors were few—some children from the village below, a gypsy woman or two, with dark eyes, who carried off a few halfpence, and perhaps a chance passer-by. But, although we found little, report had magnified our findings in no ordinary degree, and we afterwards learnt that it had gone over the country around that we had dug up a great treasure of gold. It was not, therefore, surprising if, on the last day of our excavation, we saw from our elevated position men on horse and men on foot making their way towards us from all points of the compass, and we were told that after our departure the



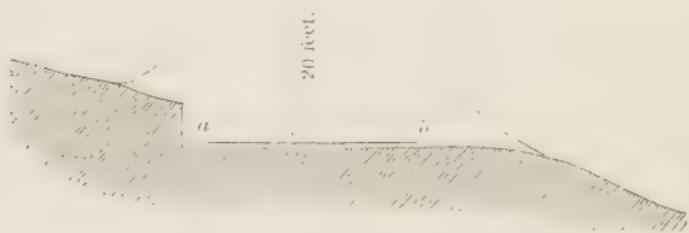
BARROW DIGGERS IN A STORM.



top of the hill was crowded with visitors. We had uncovered the floor on which the mound was raised through the whole extent of the trench, and our observations held out no promise of any further discoveries if we cut into the mound in other directions. We had therefore determined to proceed no further, when an unexpected accident put a stop to our labours. The mound was twenty feet high, made of fine mould, and the workmen had imprudently cut the walls of the trench perpendicular; the consequence of which was that in the afternoon of the fourth day the upper part on one side fell in, and one of the labourers escaped narrowly with his life.

The trench we had cut through the barrow was in different parts from five to seven feet wide, and, from the discoveries made in the excavation, it appeared that the barrow had been raised over the ashes of a funeral pile. A horizontal platform had first been cut in the chalk of the hill, and on this a very smooth artificial floor of fine earth, about four inches deep had been made, on which the pile had been raised, and which we found covered with a thin coating of wood-ashes. The surface of ashes was not less than twenty feet in diameter. The barrow was twenty feet high from this floor of ashes. From the nature of the ground it was difficult to fix the exact limits of its circumference; a rough measurement before the barrow was opened gave a circumference of somewhat more than two hundred feet, and a subsequent measure-

ment through the trench gave a diameter of ninety-three feet; but this perhaps included a part of the raised ground which did not strictly belong to the mound itself. In the floor of ashes were found scattered a considerable number of very long nails (which had probably been used to fasten together the framework on which the body was placed for cremation), with a few pieces of broken pottery which had evidently experienced the action of fire. A part of a Roman fibula was also found. Our impression was that this mound had been the monument of some person of rank, whose body, like that of the Emperor Severus, was burnt on the funeral pile, and his ashes carried home perhaps to Italy. The barrow was raised on the site of the pile, as a sort of cenotaph to his memory. A better idea of the form and character of this mound will be formed from the accompanying horizontal section; in which the shaded part



Section of the Barrow at Hoborough.

represents the natural and undisturbed ground of the hill on which the platform of the mound was cut. The dark line *a b* marks the position and extent of the bed of ashes, the remains of the funeral pile.

As I have already observed, the fields about this neighbourhood present everywhere unmistakable traces of the Roman occupation. About half a mile to the south of Hoborough, in a very large field on the banks of the river, adjacent to the church of Snodland, are distinct marks of the former existence of an extensive Roman villa. The field is known by the name of the Church Field, as that adjoining to it bears the rather significant name of *Stone Grave Field*. The walls of the church itself contain materials taken from those of the Roman buildings. We made some slight excavations in the Church Field after leaving the barrow; on the further side of the field from the river, part of a floor of large tiles was uncovered, and many fragments of pottery were picked up. Roof tiles also lay scattered about. This floor lay at a depth of about a foot from the present surface of the ground. One or two trenches cut nearer the river brought us only to the original chalk soil, so that it seems probable that the principal buildings lay back from the water side. A bath is said to have been discovered in this field about forty years before, and to have been filled up without undergoing any further inquiry. Perhaps it was the hypocaust which warmed some of the apartments. Two parallel walls are observed in the bank overlooking the river, which have probably belonged to a passage descending to the water, as the floor on which they are raised is about ten feet below the present level of the ground.

## CHAPTER X.

## A VISIT TO THE HILL INTRENCHMENTS ON THE BORDERS OF WALES.

FEW towns present more attractions to a summer visitor than that of Ludlow, on the borders of Shropshire and Herefordshire. The town itself is beautifully situated on an elevated knoll, which is cut off from the hills stretching to the south and west by a deep gorge, through which the picturesque river Teme flows. The town slopes by a gradual descent to the banks of the river, but on the opposite side the hill of Whitcliffe rises in perpendicular masses of rock, from the summit of which, a favourite promenade, we look down upon the town, and obtain to the northward an extensive view over the rich pastures of Corvedale. Whatever direction we take, the walks and rides around Ludlow are extremely beautiful, and the scenery is infinitely varied. The grand features of the town are, the noble ruin of its castle, long the queen of the border fortresses, and its fine old collegiate church. These alone, since the approach has been facilitated by railways, cannot fail to attract multitudes of visitors. In a recent visit my attention was more especially directed to the country around, which abounds

in interesting monuments of former days, and I could not help remarking the numerous intrenchments on hill-tops which are scattered through the neighbourhood, particularly over the hilly country towards Wales.

Among the most remarkable objects of this kind near to Ludlow are the intrenchments on the different summits of the Clee Hills, to the north-east. We leave the town on the east, by that quarter which, from its being the site of the prison, is called Gaolford. The road presents us with the same constant succession of picturesque rural views which we here meet with in all the lower grounds. Turning off from the direct road, at about two miles from Ludlow, we may visit the village of Middleton, the little old church of which contains a rare example of the ancient rood-loft, in carved wood, of an elegance which we should hardly expect to find in this secluded spot. In the turn of the road, almost opposite the church, is an ancient tumulus of considerable magnitude, with a tree growing upon it; but these monuments are so thickly scattered over this country that we cannot stop to notice them all. After we have returned to the road we left, about a mile further we begin to ascend the slope of the Clee Hill, and a little way up we reach the church of Bitterley, remarkable for the beautifully sculptured cross, which still remains, though sadly mutilated, in the churchyard. From the gardens of Bitterley Court, the seat of the Walcots, the view of Titterstone, rising in lofty grandeur behind, is truly majestic.

From hence is the most direct, though not the easiest, ascent, repaying us at every step with some new feature in the wonderful view, until, on arriving at the summit, we find ourselves in the centre of such a panorama as none who have not seen it can conceive. It is said that thirteen or fourteen different counties are visible from this spot, which is at an elevation of about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The sides of the mountain are very rugged, on account of the innumerable masses of basaltic rock which project through the sod. The almost circular platform at the top of the hill, an area of considerable extent, is surrounded by a wide band of loose stones, which present a very remarkable appearance, but recent examinations have proved that they are the remains of a broad wall built of stones without mortar, the lower part of which, very regularly and smoothly faced, is found in the middle of the band. This wall seems to be of very remote antiquity, but it is not easy even to guess the cause of its overthrow in so singular a manner. I understand that a large amber bead and some other early relics have been found within the inclosed area. On the western edge, where the hill is almost perpendicular, are some extraordinary groups of immense stones, which look like fallen cromlechs, but which may be pieces of the rock in the position given them by natural causes. They seem to hang over the vast precipice as though a little matter would roll them down, and hence they say this mountain received

its name of Titterstone. Some antiquaries have supposed that these masses once formed a rocking-stone. The peasantry call them the Giant's Chair.

If, instead of pursuing the route described above, we had turned off before leaving the town along a road through what is called Lower Gaolford, we should have reached, at somewhat more than two miles from Ludlow, the picturesque village of Caynham. A hill behind the village (which forms part of a low, broken ridge extending from the Clee Hill in a south-westerly direction to the river Teme, somewhat more than a mile to the south of Ludlow) is crowned with a deep intrenchment, nearly circular, and inclosing an area of five or six acres. The intrenchments are now covered with a belt of trees and underwood, through which a walk has been cut, with seats here and there at spots which command, through openings in the trees, rich prospects, extending in one direction to the distant Malverns, and in another to the Black Mountains of Wales. This is known as Caynham Camp, and, as a small brook flows at the foot of the hill to the north, called the Kay, it is probable that the name signifies the home or dwelling on the river Kay. It happens by accident that we have, in the curious Anglo-Norman history of the Fitz-Warines, an early notice of this spot, which, according to Domesday Book, had belonged to the celebrated Saxon earl Morcar, and passed after the Conquest into the possession of the Mortimers. We learn from the history just alluded to,

which must have been composed in the thirteenth century, that, early in the reign of Henry II., when Joce de Dinan laid siege to Ludlow Castle, he posted his troops within the Castle of Caynham, situated on a hill about a league from Ludlow, and then "very old and the gates rotten." The holders of Ludlow Castle called the Welsh to their assistance, and Joce himself was besieged in the ruined fortress which he had chosen as his head quarters. There were, therefore, at this time (*i. e.* the middle of the twelfth century) buildings within the intrenchments, for an Anglo-Norman writer would not apply the name of castle to the intrenchments themselves, and these buildings must then have been of considerable antiquity.

The other Clee Hills, known as Brown Clee Hills, lie a short distance to the north of the Titterstone, and consist of two very lofty cones, the one to the south called Clee Burf, and that to the north Abdon Burf (the word *burf* being probably a corruption of *burgh*). The summit of each is surrounded by an ancient vallum formed of the basaltic stone of the hill. Within the northern intrenchment, which is of a round oblong form, and much larger than the other, are two sepulchral mounds, and forty-four small circles of stones grouped together in the middle of the area. On the north-west side lies a large stone which is popularly known as the Giant's Shaft. Below these two hills, on a knoll advancing into the plain, is another oblong intrenchment, called Nordy Bank. There are other so-

called camps both to the north and to the south of Ludlow, but we will confine ourselves at present to two routes, both remarkable for the extreme beauty of their scenery, and each accompanied by a very interesting series of hill-intrenchments.

The first of these excursions lies in the direction of the pleasant village of Leintwardine, a favourite resort for fishing. We leave Ludlow by Corve Street, and turn off by the corner of the Old Field, or race-course, to Bromfield. On this race-course are several remarkable tumuli. From Bromfield, a winding road, presenting a continual succession of varying views, conducts us to Leintwardine, a large village, about eight miles from Ludlow, situated at the confluence of the rivers Clun and Teme. Within a short distance of Leintwardine are two remarkable intrenchments, Brandon Camp and Coxwall Knoll, the one to the south and the other to the west. Brandon Camp may be visited by another and in some respects a preferable route. At about two miles from Bromfield, we may turn off from the road to Leintwardine, and pass through the beautiful scenery of Downton Castle. There is a camp, or intrenchment, on a hill at the end of the rocky gorge through which the Teme here passes, at Downton on the Rock. From this point we descend again to lower ground, until we come to the site of Wigmore Abbey, the ancient grange of which, close by the road-side, is well worth a passing visit. As we proceed along rising ground from

Wigmore grange to the village of Adferton, we obtain an extremely beautiful view towards the south over the village and castle of Wigmore. Brandon Camp is about three quarters of a mile to the north of Adferton.

Brandon Camp has a particular interest as the supposed site of the Bravium of the Romans, the intermediate town or station on the Watling Street between Magna (*Kenchester*) and Uriconium (*Wroxeter*). It is situated on a hill of no great elevation, rising from the middle of the plain, almost precipitous on the west side, but descending very gradually to the east. It is not intrenched in the same manner as the hill-tops of which we have been speaking, but a square area of perhaps six or eight acres, rounded at the corners, is inclosed by a lofty vallum; and the natural form of the site has been taken advantage of, so that on the western side the steep character of the hill serves the purpose of defence, and the vallum is there very low. The southern vallum, the present appearance of which is shown in the accompanying sketch, is the most perfect. It rises to the height of perhaps eighteen or twenty feet, and, as far as I could discover by slightly digging into it at different spots, the interior is composed of the stone of the spot thrown loosely together. The eastern vallum, which is also very perfect, seems to be composed of earth. In the middle of this eastern side is a regularly-formed entrance, the only passage into the area. It is to be remarked that this entrance-gateway looks direct



BRANDON CAMP—SOUTHERN VALLUM.



upon the great Roman road which runs at a short distance to the east of the hill. I confess that I see no absolute reason why this may not be the Roman station of Bravinium, although it certainly presents some difficulties. The other Roman stations of the Itinerary on this line were regular walled towns, and why this place should be surrounded by a mere embankment is not easy to explain. Nevertheless, this embankment is raised from the ground without any trench, and bears far more analogy to a town-wall than any other earthwork I have seen. Another remarkable circumstance connected with it is the absence, as far as I could learn, of any Roman antiquities. I could hear of no coins found either at or near the place and I carefully examined the ground within the area, which was planted with turnips, without finding the slightest fragment of brick or pottery. This is very unusual on a Roman site; but it has been suggested to me that the peculiarity of the vallum may possibly be explained on the supposition that this was a very early Roman establishment,—perhaps one of the earliest on the Welsh border. Indeed if, as supposed, it be the same town as that mentioned by Ptolemy, who wrote about the year 120, under the name of Brannogenium (*Βραννογένιον*), it must have dated from the first establishment of the Romans in these parts.

The position of Brandon Camp is remarkably fine, commanding, from its slight elevation, an extraordinary view in all directions, and looking down immediately upon the

river Teme. The accompanying sketch is taken from the outside of the southern vallum, the western extremity of which forms the foreground. The hill to the left forms part of Brampton Brian Park, between which, and the hills of the distance, the valley of the Teme runs up into Wales. The dark, wooded hill in front is Coxwall Knoll, on which the line of the ancient intrenchments may be traced from this distance. Coxwall Knoll is about two miles westward from Brandon Camp, and the valley between is rather thickly scattered with ancient tumuli. The intrenchment on this hill is a mere rudely-formed foss, surrounding the upper part of the hill in a very irregular line, and its principal celebrity arises from its having been taken, on very slight grounds indeed, for the scene of the last battle of Caractacus.

Coxwall Knoll lies a little to the north of the river Teme, and of a bye-road which leads to the village of Bucknall, which is situated on a small stream that falls into the Clun about a mile above Leintwardine. This stream runs down from the hills of Burfield, or Bearfield, in the parish of Clun, and pursues its course along a narrow valley which opens out at Bucknall. A pleasant country lane runs along the banks of this stream up into the hills, with picturesque hill scenery on each side. As we advance, the country becomes gradually very wild, and at a distance of between three and four miles from the village of Bucknall, we reach a lofty hill—we may almost



COXWALL KNOll.

As seen from Brandon Camp.



call it a mountain—with a gradual slope towards the west, but on the other sides, and especially towards the east, very steep. This and the hills around are barren of everything but heath and bilberry-bushes, which in the summer and autumn give them a rich purple tint. The eastern brow of this hill, commanding the extensive prospect down the valley through which we have approached it, is crowned with a very extensive intrenched area, of an irregular oval form, surrounded by two deep fosses and high embankments. The latter are built, not of earth, but of the small flat stones of the locality, thrown loosely together. These intrenchments are known as the Gaer Ditches, and the spot itself is called Caer Caradoc, but we must not confound it with the more celebrated Shropshire Caer Caradoc, near Church Stretton. It has latterly been assumed that this is the real site of the last battle of Caractacus against the victorious arms of the Romans, and ingenious attempts have been made, I think quite unsuccessfully, to reconcile the appearance of the country around with the description given by the historian Tacitus. I will not throw away time in examining what appears to me so futile a question. The description of Tacitus is given merely from hearsay; it is so extremely indefinite that we might find twenty positions that would answer to it in any hilly country, and it does not appear to me to apply at all to the spot we have been describing, at least without very great stretches of the imagination. This is, at the

best, one of those fruitless discussions which antiquaries would do better to avoid.

Our excursion has taken us to a considerable distance from Ludlow, and, though no country could be more interesting and beautiful than that upon which we have entered, we will pursue it no longer. Having left Ludlow by the same route as that described above, let us proceed to Bromfield, and thence, instead of taking the road to Downton or Leintwardine, we will turn to the village of Onibury, which is about five miles from Ludlow. The road continues thence through the beautiful valley watered by the river Oney, at the further end of which stand the interesting ruins of Stokesay Castle, a castellated mansion of the thirteenth century. We are now pursuing a northern course, and are nearly upon the line of the Roman Watling Street; but, rather less than a mile beyond Stoke Castle, at a celebrated old posting inn called the Craven Arms, where there is now a railway station, we turn off towards the west. The road hence to Clun forms one of the most beautiful rides that can easily be imagined, a succession of lofty and often thickly wooded hills rising on each side, and bounding a narrow and rich valley, through the middle of which flows the picturesque river Clun. The first bold eminence that presents itself to our view is a wooded hill some three miles to the west of the Craven Arms, which rises into two knolls, the more northerly elevation being called Burrow Hill, and that to

the south Oker Hill. On the top of Burrow Hill there is a very fine oval intrenchment, surrounded by a double vallum, and I believe there is another intrenchment on Oker Hill. The country northward abounds with small intrenchments and barrows. After passing Burrow Hill, the lofty swell of Clunbury Hill presents a bold object on the left, while at a greater distance to the right we have a mass of picturesque elevations, the loftiest of which has on its summit the finest of the so-called camps that are found in this neighbourhood. It is known by the name of Bury Ditches, and is in form nearly circular, and inclosed by three very lofty *valla*, composed, like many of the other similar works in this part of the country, of small loose stones. The extensive area in the interior is covered with heath intermixed with bilberries, which are here very luxuriant, but the intrenchments and a part of the slope of the hill are planted with large fir-trees. The hill itself is a large and lofty knoll, very steep on all sides but the north-east, where the approach is more gradual. The entrance to the inclosure is on the western side, and it is, I believe, the only original entrance, for that on the opposite side seems to me, from the rather hasty examination I gave it, to be a mere road broken through the intrenchments at a later period. The prospect from these intrenchments, looking towards the south, is magnificent in the extreme. There are several tumuli in the country behind.

The access to this interesting spot is by a rural lane

which leaves the high road at the village of Clunton, and which ascends the greater part of the way, a distance of full a mile and a half. The pedestrian who would prefer a delightful country walk may proceed over the hills to the south-west to Clun, and, if on horseback, the visitor may, if he please, enjoy a pleasant ride thither through the woods. Otherwise he must return to Clunton, whence, if so inclined, he may turn off to visit Hopton Castle, a small fortress celebrated in the civil wars of the seventeenth century. The road to Clun continues to present the same picturesque character. Immediately below it is the river, winding its way through pastures and copses, and overhung on the other side by a near range of steep hills; while high grounds, though more broken and rather more distant, also limit the view to the north. Clun itself occupies a spot where the country is rather more open towards the north, but towards the south it is surrounded by a semicircle of high irregular hills. It is a small town, remarkable for a church which possesses some architectural interest, and for the remains of a fine Norman castle, built soon after the Conquest by the FitzAlans. The castle, the remains of which consist chiefly of the ruined keep, in itself a fine object, is situated on irregularly elevated ground on the west of the town, and commands the river, of which it affords us several picturesque views, especially that which looks over the ancient bridge.

The country round Clun offers innumerable attractions

to the antiquarian wanderer in the shape of intrenchments, barrows, old houses, and other such objects, which are too many to allow me to include them in a cursory notice; but there is one which no antiquary who comes thus far ought to return without visiting. This is the celebrated earthwork called Offa's Dyke—the ancient boundary between Mercia and Wales—extending over hill and valley from the mouth of the Severn to that of the Dee. It is seen in a state of excellent preservation on the hills to the west of Clun. Passing over Clun Bridge we turn to the right and soon enter a rather wild country lane. At a distance of somewhat more than a mile from Clun, in a field to the right, near the hamlet of Whitcott Keysett, stands one of those extraordinary stones which are usually classed under the title of Druidical monuments. It is a flat, broad stone, of very irregular shape, placed upright in the ground, in which it is evidently inserted to a considerable depth. Above ground it measures eight feet three inches in height by seven feet broad. It is impossible to conjecture the object for which single stones like this were raised, or the exact age to which they belong; in fact, they are, perhaps, not all of the same antiquity, but a general resemblance in character has caused them to be classed with the cromlechs. Rather more than a mile beyond this spot, and about two miles and a half from Clun, we reach the village of Lower Spoad, where Offa's Dyke, or, as it is here called, Off's Ditch, crosses

the deep narrow valley through which the river Clun flows. To see this wonderful earthwork to advantage, the visitor should follow its course up to the top of Spoad Hill, where its appearance is most imposing. It consists of a regular vallum, about twelve feet high, and of a considerable breadth, with a broad foss on the Welsh side. We may hence see this immense earthwork pursuing its course southward over the elevated ground on which we are standing; and northward it is seen rising up the hill on the opposite side of the valley. It is composed of loose stones and earth. The whole extent of Offa's Dyke cannot be short of a hundred miles. Within a very small circuit round the point at which we are now standing, there are several interesting hill-camps. Two of these are situated on steep eminences on opposite sides of the valley, a little beyond Offa's Dyke, and are remarkable for the beautiful views which are obtained from the two summits. There is at least one tumulus in the valley below. I have before intimated that very interesting mediæval remains are scattered over this part of the border. In Lower Spoad farm-house there is a very ancient and remarkably fine old fireplace. A large carved oak beam, covering the opening of the fireplace, and representing a stag-hunt, appears to be of the fifteenth century, and is well worth a visit. The house is said formerly to have possessed other carvings, which have disappeared.

As we wander over this beautiful country, and find our-

selves arrested continually by the intrenchments on the hill-tops, we naturally ask what can have been the purpose or purposes for which they were made? People have been in the habit of calling them all camps, and, imagining that they must have been connected with the movements of armies, they have discovered wars and campaigns where they probably never existed. Such is the case with all the theories on the marches and battles of Caractacus, which have been ingeniously put together by persons who imagined that they had only to say this is a Roman camp, and that is a British camp, and that the matter was settled. But it is evident that we ought to have some better means of discrimination than this, and it is indeed very necessary that some more careful examination of this class of monuments should be made to enable us to form a more accurate notion of their different dates and objects, for it is not probable either that they all belong to the same period, or that they were all made for the same purpose. Let us begin with the simple and self-evident principle that a certain number of men, with spades or other implements, could, in a certain space of time, make an intrenchment of any form which might occur to them, or that might be required by circumstances; when they had left their work, and carried away their tools, what is there left to show who were the workmen? A mound of earth, or a ditch, whatever be its shape, will not tell this. We must therefore look for some other evidence, and that must

be sought in excavations. The archæology of this early period must indeed depend chiefly on the pick and the spade. It was so natural to form an inclosure for any purpose by surrounding it with a bank, that we are not justified in considering every inclosure as being necessarily a camp. Thus, among what are considered as British remains, we find a barrow or sepulchral mound frequently surrounded by an intrenchment, which sometimes inclosed two or three barrows, and at others a whole cemetery. Barrows are sometimes found within the intrenchments on hill-tops; and, as we know that such elevated spots were favourite places of burial, we are justified in supposing that some of the so-called camps are nothing more than cemeteries. Again, what right have we to suppose that the Romans did not make intrenched inclosures for other purposes than camps? The notion that Roman intrenchments must be square is but a vulgar error, and we can have no reason to judge that any intrenchment is Roman, or that it is not Roman, but by circumstances extraneous to its mere form. Moreover, there is another people whom we must not overlook in a question like this, and whose capability of erecting earthworks will be understood by every one who has seen Offa's Dyke—the Anglo-Saxons. The residence of the earlier Anglo-Saxon chiefs, as we know it from their poetry and romance, as well as from history, consisted of a hall, surrounded by chambers and other buildings, the whole inclosed by an earthen wall, or intrenchment of defence.

It was called a *beorg*, or *burg*, from the Anglo-Saxon verb *beorgan*, to defend. Its site was usually selected on an elevated spot, whence the chief could see as much as possible of his broad lands. In the Ramsey Chronicle we read of one of the Saxon benefactors of the abbey, who was standing at the entrance of his residence, and, casting his eyes over his lands around, fixed on one piece which he determined to give to the abbey. *Beowulf*, alluding to the residence of Hrothgar, says that chief will endure care and trouble—

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| þenden þær wunað | as long as remaineth there |
| on heáh-stede    | on the lofty place         |
| húsa sélest.     | the best of houses         |

*Beowulf*, l. 566.

The buildings within these residences were probably mostly built of timber, and even if of masonry they soon disappeared, and the intrenchment alone remained, with nothing in outward appearance to identify it as Saxon rather than as British or Roman. I feel convinced that many of the supposed British or Roman camps in this country are nothing more than the intrenchments of the mansions of Saxon chiefs. In our attempt to ascertain the true date of such intrenchments, we must not altogether overlook their distinctive names. We know that the Anglo-Saxons applied the name *caster* or *chester*, a word derived from the Latin *castrum*, to Roman fortifications; and I believe that not a single instance is known in which

a name having that word in its composition has not been discovered to belong to a Roman site. The reason is a plain one: the Saxons knew these buildings not as their own erections, but as the works of their predecessors, and therefore they did not give them the name which they gave to their own fortified residences, which were different sorts of things, but a name which they learned from the people who made them. This is a mode of proceeding which prevails among all people and at all times. When we bring a new fashion over from France, we generally give it a French name, not the name which we ourselves have been used to apply to a similar thing, but of a different fashion. The Welsh used the word *caer*, corrupted into *gaer*, (derived similarly from the Latin *castrum*,) in the same way; thus we have Caerleon (*castrum Legionis*), Caerwent (*castrum Ventæ*), &c.; but I am not aware how far inquiries have been made to show whether the Welsh *caer* refers as uniformly to Roman sites as the Saxon *caster* and *chester*. It is curious, however, that of three Caer Caradocs we know, Roman remains are stated to have been found about one of them (Caer Caradoc, near Bridgend, in Glamorganshire), and that the celebrated Caer Caradoc, near Church Stretton, overlooks the great Roman road, the Watling Street. Are we not therefore justified in presuming that the Caer Caradoc of the Gaer Ditches, which we have been visiting, may possibly have been also a Roman work? Again, when we find the word *borough*, or *burrow*,

or *bury*, in the names of such intrenchments, it seems to me that we have a primary presumption that it may have been a Saxon mansion. Places called *Kingsbury* were mansions belonging to the king—we have an instance in Kingsbury near Verulam, the intrenchments of which are still visible. In Caynham, we have the more ordinary Saxon term of a man's mansion, *ham*, or *home*, in the name; but I think from what has been before said that the *ham* from which it took its name was the mansion within the intrenchments, and that these are Saxon. I confess that when I stood within the *Bury Ditches* in the neighbourhood of Clun, and beheld the vast prospect of hill and valley and wood and field below, the descriptions I had read in Anglo-Saxon poetry flashed upon my mind, and I thought I stood within the *weallas* (or intrenchments) of some powerful Saxon border chieftain, who here held the wide estates he had conquered in defiance of the Welshmen. Singularly enough, as I walked across the middle of the vast area, I observed to a friend who was at my side that I suspected if a trench were dug there traces of buildings might be found; and within a week after I learned accidentally that Lord Powis's keeper, digging into a rabbit burrow on that very spot, had come to a wall of rude masonry, to his own no small surprise. In conclusion, I would remark that there are reasons why the Saxon word *bury* or *burrow* may have been applied much more generally than *caster* or *chester*. The Anglo-Saxons, in

giving the name, knew no doubt in general to what they were giving it; but they might, at a later period of their history, meet here and there with old intrenchments for which they had no special name, and, supposing them to be the remains of an old *beorg* or mansion, they would name them accordingly. Hence, though we may naturally look for a Saxon origin of earthworks designated by the word *borough* or *bury*, they may nevertheless be *of a much older date*; and we must bear in mind also that sometimes this word *borough* or *bury* is only another form of *barrow*, a sepulchral mound.

## CHAPTER XI.

## FROM YORK TO GOODMANHAM.

YORK is in many respects one of the most interesting cities in England, and it has held a very prominent position in history from the time when under the name of Eburacum it was the residence of the Roman emperors to the present day. Situated in the middle of a wide fertile plain, its position is one which naturally offers itself for the site of an important military town; and, preserving this importance in after times, it was at one period the great seat of learning in Saxon England. Of its earlier importance we need only say that it was the residence of three Roman emperors, Hadrian, Severus, and Constantius Chlorus; that the greatest of the Roman lawyers, Papinian and Ulpian, gave their judgments within its walls; and that it was the school of the celebrated Saxon scholars, Egbert and Alcuin. With such reminiscences we might naturally expect to find many monuments of ancient greatness; but unfortunately the grand destroyer, Time, has here been a busy worker, and we are left rather to muse over what has been than to rejoice over what remains. Even the noble

cathedral, which naturally arrests first the attention of the visitor, has suffered so much from modern incendiarism that it is no longer what it was. The great attraction of York, however, for all who possess any taste for the antiquities of their country, is the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

By a singularly happy reunion of circumstances, the grounds of the Philosophical Society, which are beautifully situated on ground sloping toward the river and laid out picturesquely, contain within their circuit several of the most remarkable of the earlier monuments of the city. Near the entrance stand the remains of the Hospital of St. Leonard, a religious house said to have been founded by the Anglo-Saxon king Athelstan, in the year 936. The ruins consist chiefly of what are supposed to have been the ambulatory and chapel of the infirmary, the architecture of which is of the style generally denominated Early-English, that is, of the earlier part of the thirteenth century. Close behind these remains we come upon the Roman town wall, and that remarkable portion of the fortifications of ancient Eburacum which, from the circumstance of its consisting of ten sides of a nearly regular thirteen-sided figure forming nine very obtuse angles, has received the name of the Multangular Tower. It is internally at the base upwards of thirty-three feet in diameter, and the wall is of an immense thickness. This imposing mass of masonry is built in the usual Roman manner, with string-

courses of flat bricks. After leaving the Multangular Tower, we come immediately upon the site of the once noble abbey of St. Mary, about one half of the inclosure of which, including a large part of the site of the church, now forms a part of the Society's grounds. The ground belonging to the Society has been carefully explored and excavated, and a large portion of the foundations of the ancient church and other monastic buildings, with much interesting and some beautiful sculpture, have been uncovered, and add to the attractions of the place. The handsome modern building which contains the Society's museum stands on the site of what is supposed to have been the library or the scriptorium of the abbey.

Nearly westward from the modern building just alluded to, and still within the grounds of the Philosophical Society, is an ancient building which is supposed to have been the hospitium of the abbey, or the building set apart for the entertainment of strangers. It consists of a lower room, which was probably the refectory, and an upper room, which is supposed to have been the dormitory. In these two rooms have been arranged, by the care of the distinguished, and now venerable, curator of this museum, the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, and his not less learned son-in-law the Rev. John Kenrick, the principal Roman antiquities found on this site and in the neighbourhood, and a very good descriptive account of them, drawn up by the former gentleman, has been published, and will assist the

visitor in the examination of them. It is by much the best local museum in this country. The room below contains the larger Roman monuments, such as votive altars, sepulchral monuments, and stone coffins, many of them with very interesting inscriptions, pieces of sculpture and architectural ornaments, &c., with a considerable number of mediaeval remains, many of them dug up in the Society's grounds. The smaller antiquities are arranged in cases and drawers in the upper room of this building. They consist of Roman pottery in great variety, glass, inscribed bricks and tiles, domestic utensils, personal ornaments, and a tolerably numerous collection of early Anglo-Saxon remains obtained from barrows in Yorkshire. There are also some of what are generally considered as British remains, also from Yorkshire barrows, with a collection of Egyptian antiquities, and a very interesting assortment of mediæval articles. A few of the larger Roman antiquities, especially the celebrated sculpture representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras (dug up in York in 1747), will be found in the hall of the modern building; and a few Roman stone coffins have been deposited within the Multangular Tower. The numismatic department of this museum is especially rich in Anglo-Saxon coins. I will not venture to give any more particular account of the varied contents of this museum. To describe the Roman antiquities would be to write the history of the celebrated city to which they belonged, and this

task has been admirably performed by Mr. Wellbeloved himself, in his "Eburacum: or York under the Romans;" to which, and to the descriptive account of the museum just alluded to, I would refer every one who takes an interest in the early history of our island.

Besides many other objects of antiquarian interest in the country about York, it is surrounded at no great distance by rather numerous sites of Roman towns. At a distance of nine miles to the south-east, the quiet town of Tadcaster occupies the site of the Roman Calcaria, of which no very distinct remains can now be traced, though it is probable that future researches will reveal its foundations; but about sixteen miles to the north-west, at Aldborough, we still find imposing remains of the great Roman city of Isurium. Remains of another Roman town are found at Old Malton, some seventeen or eighteen miles to the north-east of York, which I am inclined to think may represent the Derventio or the Delgovitia of the Romans. All these places are now approached directly or indirectly by railway. Another line, which runs eastward from York, will take us to a spot which possesses a peculiar interest in connection with the conversion of our Saxon forefathers to the faith of the Gospel.

As we leave York by this line, we pass at first through a flat and not very interesting district, but fertile, and tolerably well wooded. The view is, as might be supposed, restricted on both sides. Further on, between Stamford

Bridge and Fangfoss stations, the land loses its rich character and its trees, and presents for a short distance the aspect of a low barren moor, producing little but furze-bushes and peat.

We cannot pass the village of Stamford Bridge without a glance at its interesting reminiscences. It was here that Harold, the last of the Saxon monarchs, gained, on the 23rd of September, 1066, the sanguinary victory which relieved him at once, by their slaughter, of his turbulent brother, Tosti, and a fierce invader Harald Harfager king of Norway, but which, by distracting his attention and weakening his forces at this momentous epoch, no doubt contributed to his own defeat and death in the battle of Hastings, on the 14th of October following. At that time the river Derwent was here crossed by a bridge, which was not improbably a Roman one; and, as the river separated the two armies, Harold, who was aware of the dangers that threatened in the south, and that he had no time to lose, was obliged to force this bridge before he could bring his enemies to a regular engagement. A powerful Norwegian warrior is reported to have defended the bridge single-handed, until he had killed forty of his assailants, and not to have given way until he was slain himself. The tradition of the place, where a *fête* is still held on the 23rd of September in commemoration of the battle, is that the Norwegian was slain by a Saxon boatman, who rowed himself under the bridge, and thrust his spear up through the

woodwork, and in memory of the exploit they still at the *fête* just mentioned make and sell cakes in the form of a boat.

As we pursue our course along the railway line, we now come in sight of a range of hills running in a south-easterly direction, which we approach continually nearer as we proceed. This is the edge of the eastern wolds, which extend for some miles in a northerly direction. The country again becomes fertile and well-wooded, and as we advance it is more and more picturesque. Not far from Shipton station, where the railway approaches near to the foot of the hills, a fine avenue of trees, said to have been planted about a century ago at the suggestion of David Garrick, leads from the hamlet of Thorpe-in-the-Street, through the pastures adjoining the park of Londesborough, up to the site where once stood the house. The village of Shipton, which is said to have been the birthplace of the celebrated witch Mother Shipton, is twenty-one miles from York by the railway.

The position of Londesborough is singularly beautiful. The house stood upon an elevated platform, protected on the north and west by the hills which rise immediately behind it. The park lies chiefly below it, on the slope of the hill, and presents a great variety of fine prospects, the beauty of which is increased by the fine old trees which are thickly scattered through it. The view from the site of the house commands a magnificent panorama. In front, at a distance of about twelve miles, the Humber is

distinctly visible, and the prospect is bounded by the distant hills of Lincolnshire. To the westward it extends towards the vale of York, and from the old iron gates at the entrance of the grounds, the tower of York minster is visible. Eastwardly it is bounded by the hill which rises up immediately from the park; but to the south-east we look down upon the town of Market Weighton, at a distance of about two miles, and our view stretches far over the low country beyond, till at times, I am told, we may even trace the smoke of Hull.

Londesborough appears to have been the site of a Roman settlement of some kind or other—perhaps a villa. The Roman road, which proceeds from Brough on the Humber (the site of the Roman landing-place from Lincolnshire, called in the old Itinerary *Ad Petuariam*), has been traced through the park, or, at all events, from what is known of its line before and after, it must have passed through it. Roman coins and other antiquities, as well as sepulchral deposits, have been frequently found in the village and gardens, and in the park. The estate was long the property of the great family of the Cliffords, and it was carried by a daughter of the last Earl of Cumberland of that family to the Boyles Earls of Cork, from whom it descended to the Dukes of Devonshire. The house was a large solid building, the older and principal portion of which was traditionally assigned to the Cliffords. The northern part was built by the Earl of Burlington, the friend of Pope





GODMANHAM CHURCH.

and Garrick. It must have been an interesting place; but, having fallen into neglect, the present Duke of Devonshire, for some reason or other which is variously stated, caused it to be pulled down about thirty years ago, so that now nothing remains of it but the terrace and steps in front, the extensive cellaring, and the gardens and shrubberies. A few years ago the estate was sold by the duke to the well-known George Hudson, from whom it was purchased by the present noble proprietor, who takes from it his title of Lord Londesborough.

We must descend into the picturesque valley below the house, and then mount the opposite hill, up the greater part of which the park extends. On reaching the top of the hill we have before us another valley or comb, and another chalk hill (for all these hills are chalk) rising behind it. In this hollow, at a short distance before us, the church and village of Godmanham, or, as it is pronounced and now generally written, Goodmanham, occupies a prominent position. The ground is here bare of trees, except a few about the village just mentioned, which occupies the slope of the hills, hardly a mile above Market Weighton. The church of Goodmanham stands on a high lump of ground in the middle of the village, in a rather remarkable position, and is said to mark the scene of one of the most beautiful episodes of our early Saxon history.

In the time of Edwin king of Deira, who ascended the

throne of this branch of the Northumbrian Saxons in 616, the people of the North were still ignorant of the Christian faith. The life of this prince was strangely chequered with misfortunes and successes. In his childhood he was driven from his kingdom by the powerful Bernician king Athelferth, and was compelled to seek an asylum with one of the British princes. An attempt to defend him against the pursuit of Athelferth led to that celebrated battle of Chester in which so many of the British clergy of Bangor were put to the sword. Edwin fled first to Mercia, and thence to East Anglia, and while there under the protection of the Anglian king Rædwald he was said to have had a vision, in which his future good fortune was foretold to him, and he was enjoined to accept the revelation which should then be made to him of a purer faith than that of his forefathers. Soon after this a battle took place between Rædwald and Athelferth, in which the latter was slain, upon which Edwin not only recovered his own kingdom of Deira, but succeeded also to the whole of Northumbria. Edwin now became the most powerful king in Britain, and he obtained as his second wife Athelburgh, daughter of Athelbert king of Kent. Athelbert, as we all know, had been converted by the preaching of Augustine; his family had now cordially received the Christian faith, and it was made a condition of the marriage not only that the princess should not be molested in her religion, but that she should have a Christian bishop with her, who was

privately to administer its offices. There can be little doubt that Paulinus, one of the monks sent over by the pope to assist Augustine in his missionary labours, was selected for this office, with a view to the ultimate conversion of the northern Angles.

It was, according to Bede, in the summer of the year 625, that the young Kentish princess, and her spiritual instructor, directed their steps towards the kingdom of the Northumbrians. The labours of the missionary were at first unsuccessful, for king Edwin was unwilling to desert the worship of his ancestors, and his people held aloof from new doctrines which had not yet received the approval of their chief. But in the year after the marriage new events occurred in the Northumbrian history, which exercised an important influence over the course of Edwin's future life. The king of the West Saxons, resolved to rid himself of the supremacy exercised over his kingdom by the powerful ruler of the Northumbrians, was preparing to revolt against it, but he determined first to have recourse to the arm of an assassin, and a messenger was sent with a pretended embassy, but in reality to slay the prince to whom his message was addressed. The treacherous assassin, whose name was Eumir, reached the court of Edwin, who was then residing in one of his palaces, or, as Bede expresses it, where was then his royal villa (*ubi tunc erat villa regalis*), near the river Derwent, on Easter Sunday, in the year 626. The assassin was slain without having

effected his purpose, but the king received a wound, and two of his nobles were killed in defending him. That night the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, in acknowledgment of which Edwin gave thanks to his gods; but Paulinus returned thanks to Christ, and assured the king that it was to his intercession that Athelburgh owed her easy delivery. The bishop so far prevailed, that Edwin consented, no doubt at the persuasion of his queen, that the infant should be baptized, and this ceremony was performed on Whitsunday following, eleven other persons of the royal household receiving at the same time the baptismal rite. The king further promised that he would himself turn to the worship of the Redeemer if Paulinus would procure for him victory over his enemy the West-Saxon king. When at length Edwin returned triumphant from the war, he at once so far fulfilled this promise that he abstained from offering worship to the idols himself, but he still, perhaps for political reasons, hesitated in proclaiming himself a Christian. Paulinus, we are told, when he perceived the king's continued reluctance, presented himself before him in private, and announced to him that he was a messenger directed by Heaven to command him to be a believer, reminding him, as a proof of his divine mission, of the vision which the king had had in his youth, and which he had revealed to no man. Edwin was convinced; but he proposed, before openly accepting the Christian faith, to hold a meeting of his witan, that they

might debate the matter in council, and all agree to be baptized together.

It was a little before the Easter of the year 627, when Edwin assembled his chiefs in the villa beyond the Derwent, and asked them severally what they thought of the new doctrine and worship preached by the Christian bishop. Among those called to deliberate on this occasion was the chief of the king's priests, whose name was Cæfi, or, as it is written by Bede in the Northumbrian dialect, Coifi, and who was the first to deliver his opinion. "Consider, O king," said the heathen priest, "what is this which is now preached to us. For myself, I truly confess to you my conviction that the religion we have hitherto held has no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I have, and yet there are many who receive greater favours from you, and obtain greater honours, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if these gods were of any worth they would favour me most, who have been most zealous in their service. It remains, therefore, that, if upon examination you find these new doctrines now preached to us better and of more worth, we hasten to receive them without delay." Perhaps the idolator might have found a better argument, but it seems to have been a sincere one, and it came from one whose example could not fail to be influential. One of the secular chiefs followed him with a beautiful comparison. "The

present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that life which is unknown to us, like as it is when in winter time you, seated at the festive board, among your chiefs and ministers, with a blazing fire in the midst of the hall, while the stormy rains and snows of winter are raging without, a sparrow entering passes through swiftly, flying in at one door and immediately afterwards departing by the other. During the time he is within he is not touched by the wintry storm, but this brief period of fair weather being passed over in a moment, he disappears from your sight, returning to the same winter from which he came. So this life of man is for a brief period apparent to us; but of what may follow, or of what preceded, we are totally ignorant. Wherefore, if this new doctrine bring us anything more certain, it seems just that we should follow it." The other courtiers gave their opinions in the same sense, whereupon Cæfi requested that Paulinus might be invited to declare to them the doctrines he recommended; and, convinced by his preaching, he stood forth and said, "I have been long sensible of the emptiness of what we worship, because the more earnestly I sought after truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I openly confess that this preaching evidently manifests that truth which can confer upon us the gifts of life, salvation, and everlasting happiness. Wherefore I recommend, O king, that we at once deliver to perdition and fire those temples and altars which we have consecrated in vain." Edwin gave

his approbation to the proposal, but, perhaps still apprehensive of the consequences of such an act of desecration, he asked who would undertake to put it in execution, by profaning the altars and temples of the idols, with the inclosures that surrounded them. “I will do it,” exclaimed the priest, “for who is more fitting than myself to destroy the things I worshipped through ignorance, as an example to all others, through the knowledge which has been given me from the true God?” Thereupon he demanded of the king arms and a stallion, for it appears that it was not lawful for a priest to carry arms, or to ride any other animal but a mare; and having girt on a sword, and taken in his hand a spear, he mounted the steed brought him by order of the king, and rode to the temple. A priest thus equipped was so strange a sight, that people collected from all quarters in the belief that he was mad. Nevertheless, he met with no opposition, and he no sooner reached the sacred spot than he profaned it by throwing his spear into it, and he then ordered his companions to destroy and burn the temple and its inclosures. “This place of the idols,” says Bede, writing in the year 731, “is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham, where this high priest, inspired by the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had consecrated himself.” Soon after this event, on Easter day, which that year was the 12th of April, Edwin was baptised by Paulinus in the city of York.

It is evident, from Bede's account of these proceedings, that they all took place within a small compass; it was probably but a short distance from the king's villa to the site of Cæfi's temple. Tradition in Bede's time, who was born not more than forty-five years after the event, could not be wrong in identifying the site of the temple with Godmundingaham, and there can be no doubt that the place thus named was the modern Goodmanham. The church of Goodmanham is supposed to occupy the site of the temple—and we can easily imagine the erection of a Christian church on such a spot. The present building is an early Norman structure of some architectural interest. The arch between the chancel and the choir is flattened at the top, as though it had given way after it was built, and the pilasters which support it lean slightly outwards. Several instances of such arches of the Norman period have been observed in different parts of the country, and, as I believe all the stones of the arch seem never to have formed part of a semicircle, it remains yet to be ascertained whether the form they now have was the result of design or accident. The capitals which support the arch are of a design which is not usual—one of them is given in the accompanying cut. In one corner of the church is a very rudely-formed early Norman font, which the sanguine antiquary, Dr. Stukeley, believed to be the identical font in which king Edwin was baptised, forgetting that that ceremony was performed, not at Goodmanham, but in York.

The church stands, as I have said before, on an elevated knoll, and there is an apparent slight vallum round the churchyard, which is probably the remains of an old hedge-row. At about a hundred yards direct south of the church, in a field on the other side of the rectory, are some extensive and very strange-looking earthworks. They occupy the brow of the hill, overlooking a rather deep valley or comb, at the bottom of which flows a copious stream of remarkably clear water, which rises a little above, and flows down to the town of Market Weighton.



The earthworks just alluded to have been supposed to be the remains of Cæfi's temple. They give one at the first

glance the notion of a large square inclosure, with a fortified entrance running down the bank towards the stream; but the interior of the inclosure is filled with mounds, and, on examining it more minutely, the whole presents such an appearance of confusion that we are led to acknowledge that it may after all be nothing but the remains of a modern chalk-pit. Such is, at all events, the opinion of Mr. Roach Smith, who commenced some excavations to the west of the high road, and discovered some ruins which he judged to be medieval.

Before we proceed any further let me correct the extraordinary statements which have been made by topographers and local historians as to the derivation of the name. On no subject perhaps has such a mass of ignorant nonsense been given to the world as on the derivations of names of places in this country. Bede has been quoted as stating that the name of Godmoundingaham means *a place of idols*; but the venerable patriarch of Saxon history knew his mother tongue far too well to have made any such statement. Like all others of this form—and they are the most numerous class we have—this name is a simple designation of the first Saxon, or rather Angle, possessors of the locality; and its only possible meaning is the *ham* or home (residence) of the Godmundings, or descendants of Godmund. Who Godmund was—whether he was one of the chiefs who came in the expeditions to Britain, or whether he was some older hero in the country from which the

Angle settlers came, or whether again he may have been the head of a race of priests—is a question which it would be in vain to attempt to solve.

When Mr. Roach Smith was making some partial excavations at Goodmanham, he found at the distance of two or three fields behind them several barrows, and near them a Roman road, which he traced to the shrubbery close to the house at Londesborough.\* It is still well developed in the pine-wood through which we pass in walking from Londesborough to Goodmanham. When we consider therefore that Londesborough and Goodmanham stood by the same Roman road, less than a mile apart, and that indications of a Roman villa are found at

\* Mr. Roach Smith was not the first excavator on this spot. It appears from the *Eboracum*, p. 31, that Drake dug into the mounds already mentioned as lying to the south of the church, and the result justified the opinion expressed by Mr. Smith. Drake says,—“At the former (Weighton) is nothing to be observed; but at the other (Goodmanham), on the east side of the village, is a pretty large spot of ground, so uneven and full of hills and holes that it looked exceedingly like a ruin covered by time with earth and turf. I was shewn this place by my lord Burlington, the present lord of the manor of Goodmanham, who gave me leave to dig it where and when I pleased. I took an opportunity and set some men at work on several parts of it, who dug pretty deep, but it turned out to be nothing but chalk pits, or lime, which last has and may still be got here in great plenty, and very probably was here burnt when wood was more common in this country than it is now. The site of the pagan temple in Goodmanham in all probability was on the very same spot of ground the church now stands.”

the former place, are we not justified in accounting it possible that Londesborough itself may have been the site of Edwin's villa, where that interesting conference took place which is described above? We can then understand perfectly how, when the conference was terminated so remarkably, Cæfi called for horse and arms, and rode over the intervening hill to his idol temple on the other side. It is a supposition which cannot fail to give an additional interest to both localities in the mind of the visitor. I may add, in addition to what has been already said of their antiquities, that the high grounds, in a long sweep behind both, are covered with large sepulchral tumuli.

A very pleasant walk of somewhat less than a mile will take the visitor down the hill to Market Weighton, a town which probably derives its name from having stood on the old Roman road—Weg-tun, the town on the way; and he may thence proceed to York, unless he prefer returning through Londesborough park to the station of Shipton, which is two miles nearer York by the railway line than the Market Weighton station.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE ROMAN CITY OF ISURIUM.

In the middle of an extensive plain, at a distance of seventeen Roman miles from Eburacum, along the military road which left that city in a north-westerly direction, stood another city, named by the Romans Isurium, which appears almost to have rivalled Eburacum itself in grandeur, if not in importance. Isurium, indeed, seems to have held towards Eburacum somewhat the relation of Verulamium to Londinium.

The road of the legionaries has long ceased to be a trodden path, and it would require some labour and a practised eye to trace its course, now hidden under green meadows and rural lanes. The noble city to which it led has also disappeared, and the traveller who would go in search of its site must take the railway from York towards Durham, and proceed some sixteen miles to the station at Pillmoor, whence a short branch-line, running south-west somewhat short of six miles, will bring him to the old medieval town of Boroughbridge. Boroughbridge is a quiet place, with little of absolute interest in

itself, but it offers a convenient and good resting-place for the wanderer in search of scenery or of historic sites in this part of Yorkshire. If he take the road which leaves Borough-bridge to the east, a pleasant walk of somewhat more than half a mile will bring him to its fellow town of Aldborough. The first intimation of the approach to a town—or rather, to speak of it by its appearance, to a village—is a large plain mansion on the right-hand side of the road. This is the residence of Andrew Lawson, Esq., the proprietor of a large portion of the land of Aldborough, and is known as the Manor House. After we have passed it, the road takes the character of a street, which almost immediately separates into two, one running in a southerly direction, the other south-east. In the space between these two branches stands the church; a building apparently of the fifteenth century, but composed in part of materials taken from the ruins of the ancient Roman town, among which is conspicuous on the external wall of the vestry a large sculptured stone bearing a figure of Mercury. Beyond the church a cross road runs from one of the branch roads just mentioned to the other, and where it joins the southern road or street, there is an open space, where the members of parliament—for Aldborough was a borough town—were formerly elected, and which is called the Borough Hill. In fact, the ground here begins to rise rather rapidly; and the road, which has hitherto run southerly, turns south-west and proceeds up the hill till it passes a

modern square tower on the right. Another street turns from the space called the Borough Hill on the southern side, runs a short distance parallel to the one just mentioned, and then turns at a right angle and rejoins it just before we arrive at the tower. The south-eastern branch of the first road continues its course nearly in its original direction, till it passes another large house, called Aldborough Hall. These roads or streets, bordered irregularly with low and small houses, or cottages, compose the modern town of Aldborough, which contains somewhat less than three thousand inhabitants.

At the entrance of the town, immediately after passing Aldborough Manor, the residence of Mr. Lawson, the attention of the visitor will be attracted by a board on the wall of one of the cottages adjoining it on the right hand side of the road, on which the following very modern inscription is neatly painted:—

MUSEUM ISURIANUM.

---

ETRUSCAN PATTERN

and two other

TESSELATED PAVEMENTS.

---

*Admission sixpence each.*

A little further on another house, which is the old manor house, has two inscribed boards, the first of which is an older inscription than the others, though it appears to

have been repainted, rather quaintly informs the reader in what was intended to be verse—

This is the *ANCIENT MANOR* House.

And in it you may see

*The ROMANS WORKS.*

A great Curiosety.

Adjoining this, on the same house, another board contains the following announcement—

TESSELATED PAVEMENTS.

---

*COINS, &c.*

Admission sixpence each.

Proceeding further up the town, on the branch of the road leading to the south, the visitor will soon come to a small road-side public-house, still on the right hand side of the way, and on the rise of the ground at the Borough Hill. This little inn bears the somewhat high-sounding name of the Aldburgh Arms, and a board over the door presents the following inscription—

HYPOCAUST.

---

SUDATORY.

---

MOSAIC.

PAVEMENTS.

---

Admission each  
sixpence.

The next house above this inn has a board also, with a very tempting inscription—

BASILICA  
with  
GREEK INSCRIPTION.

Admission sixpence each.

But we need go no further to convince ourselves that we are treading upon the ruins of some great city of the ancient world, and, as all these inscriptions have followed each other within a few paces, we shall become alarmed at the expensive character which a visit to it is likely soon to assume, if an additional sixpence is to be levied on every fragment of building that turns up. The remains indicated by these inscriptions are so far, however, of sufficient interest to repay the visitor for the small sum demanded for showing them. The person who resides in the cottage first mentioned has the privilege of showing Mr. Lawson's museum, of which we shall speak further on. Under this cottage, which stands about forty yards within the wall of Roman Isurium (the wall ran through the site of Mr. Lawson's house), portions of handsome tessellated pavements have been found, of which a square in very good condition has been preserved under a trap-door in the floor of the cottage. Parts of the same pavement have been found at different times not only in the out-buildings behind the house but in the road before it, and

they seem all to have belonged to a corridor, perhaps surrounding the atrium, or hall, of a handsome Roman mansion. Under the old manor house, and in the grounds behind it, several extensive remains of pavements have been discovered, one of which, fourteen feet and a half square and in good preservation, is protected by a roofed building.

The gardens of the Aldeburgh Arms have been the scene of still more extensive excavations and discoveries, considerable portions of a large and very handsome Roman house having there been laid open. It appears that in the year 1832, the keeper of the inn was digging a deep hole to bury a calf which had died, when he came unexpectedly to a very beautifully tessellated floor, forming a rectangular apartment of about thirteen feet by twelve, inclosed by the remains of the walls. The pavements hitherto mentioned consist entirely of the various elegant patterns of mosaic ornamentation which are usually found in the Roman houses of Isurium, but the inner compartment of the pavement found in 1832 contained a picture representing an animal of some kind reposing under a tree. The animal is said by some to have been a panther, and others suppose it to have been a lion—but, unfortunately, although a building was raised over the pavement for its protection, so much of the central compartment has been torn up by the discreditable eagerness of visitors to carry away the tesserae as curiosities, that very little of the form of the

animal remains. The picture is worked on a white ground, with tesserae of five different colours, red, yellow, brown, black, and lilac. It is inclosed in a border of two black tesserae, which form a line serving as a square frame to the picture. Another border of three white tesserae separates this line from the series of ornamental borders which fill up the floor. The external border, which separates the ornamental floor from the wall of the room, is composed of larger tesserae formed of stone of a brownish colour. In 1846 excavations were made around the site of the floor just described, which led to the discovery of other apartments belonging to the same house, of which the floors had disappeared. Adjoining the room discovered in 1832, on the north-east side, was a much larger apartment, around which were a regular series of pilaster-formed projections, within which had been placed the flue-tiles for conducting the hot air from the hypocaust by which the rooms were warmed. Beyond this apartment, still to the north-east, were some smaller apartments, in which some of the pillars of the hypocaust remained, and at the south corner of one of these, in what was probably an external wall, was found one of the furnaces or fire-places of the hypocaust, with the perpendicular flue or chimney still remaining to nearly the height of the ruined wall, blackened with soot in the inside. In one of these smaller rooms, which probably formed part of the domestic offices, a well was found. All these rooms occupied the corner of what appeared to

be a roadway, inclosed between two walls, perhaps a narrow lane, the ground on the other side of which has not been examined. But, in 1848, new excavations were undertaken on the east and west sides of this house. These led at length to the discovery of another pavement of great beauty, which was quite perfect, and its colours as fresh as on the day when it was first laid down. The centre-piece of this pavement, a square of about a foot and a half, incloses, upon a white ground, a double star, the rays of green bordered with black. The centre is formed by a series of concentric rings, commencing from a focus of one white tessera in the middle of a cross of black upon a red ground. The rings, beginning from the cross, are composed first of circles of single tesserae, white, red, yellow, and black, then a ring of two red tesserae, and finally one of two white ones. The internal square is surrounded by a border of black pyramids on a white ground. Around this is a band of two black tesserae, and then one of two white tesserae. Then we have a handsome guilloche border, of four bands, of five threads each, the colours being black, red, yellow, white, and black. The next band is a very broad Greek fret, black, upon a white ground. This is followed by a double guilloche, of the same number of threads and colours as the former. After this the borders are plain, the first being a white one, the second red, and the third a broad band of large tesserae (an inch and a half square) of grey

sandstone, which surrounds the whole floor. The white border is distinguished by this peculiarity, that it differs in width, the number of tesseræ being on each side of the square three, five, seven, and nine, respectively. This arrangement appears to have been rendered necessary by a slight original displacement of the centre. The whole floor is about twelve feet square, and the original walls were found remaining to an average height of two feet. These walls have been adopted as the basement of a building to cover and protect the pavement, which, I regret to say, is suffering considerably from the effects of frost and damp, the latter having produced a mouldiness by which the bright colours of the tesseræ are much obscured.

The most interesting of all the pavements yet discovered among the ruins of Isurium is found in the gardens of the house higher up the hill, which exhibits externally the board containing the last of the inscriptions I have enumerated, but, unfortunately, in consequence of its lying nearer the surface of the ground and being laid with less strength than the others, it is in a very fragmentary condition. It was brought to light, in the course of some excavations, in the year 1846. As far as it remains, the building appears to have consisted of a rectangular ante-room, of a large rectangular central apartment, and of a semi-circular room or apse beyond the central room. This semicircular apse, it must be observed, is frequently found in Roman villas. It has, however, been conjectured that we have

here the foundations of a temple or basilica. The centre of the ante-room is occupied by a pavement of the guilloche pattern. Only one small corner of the pavement of the central room remains, which, as it contains a closely-draped bust of a human figure, makes us the more regret the loss of the remainder. The whole has been surrounded by a narrow border of the Vitruvian scroll, a double guilloche, and a broad Greek fret. The apse appears to have been only partly separated from the large room by a transverse wall, leaving an opening which might perhaps be closed with a curtain. It has been conjectured that this semicircular apartment in the Roman villas was a sort of little chapel or sanctuary, and that it contained a statue of the deity whom the possessor of the house had chosen as his patron. In a villa recently opened in the neighbourhood of Leicester, there was found in the centre of a similar semicircular apse a short pillar, which might have been the support of a statue or have served for an altar. In the apse at Isurium were found the remains, still preserved, of what has been a singularly interesting pavement, the central part of which has been occupied by a group or row of figures, one of which remains almost complete, and appears to represent a man holding a scroll in his hand; of another the lower part (apparently that of a draped female) remains. On the right-hand side of the first of these figures, under the left elbow, which holds the scroll, is part of an inscription, in two lines, in Greek

letters worked in small tesserae of blue glass—perhaps the other letters were on the left-hand side of the figure. The letters which remain appear to be

ΕΛΗ

ΕΩΝ

The circumstance of the inscription being in Greek may perhaps be taken as evidence of the refinement of the inhabitants of Roman Isurium.

Several other tessellated pavements besides those just enumerated are known to have been discovered on the site of ancient Isurium, almost all in the neighbourhood of the modern houses, as few excavations have been made in other parts, and it is therefore probable that a great number of others, and some of them of high interest, still remain concealed under the turf. Foundations and pavements have been traced in the gardens of the cottages on the north side of the town; a hypocaust was found on the site of the school, at the angle where the two main streets separate; and a long corridor and other foundations seem to show that there was some very extensive building, public or private, on the site of the modern church and churchyard. Similar remains, of considerable magnitude, were also discovered at the beginning of the last century, on the Borough Hill. "Not long since," we are told by Drake, the old historian of Roman York, "more pavements of this kind were discovered on a hill called the Burrow Hill. Here were likewise the foundation walls of

a considerable building laid open; two bases of pillars of some regular order; large stones of the grit kind, with joints for cramping; sacrificial vessels; flues, or hollow square pipes, for the conveyance of smoke or warm air; bones and horns of beasts, mostly stags; an ivory needle, and a copper Roman style or pin." Drake pronounces these to be the remains of a temple, but most of the articles he enumerates seem rather to have belonged to a large mansion-house, and his sacrificial vessels might, if we saw them, prove to be mere domestic articles.

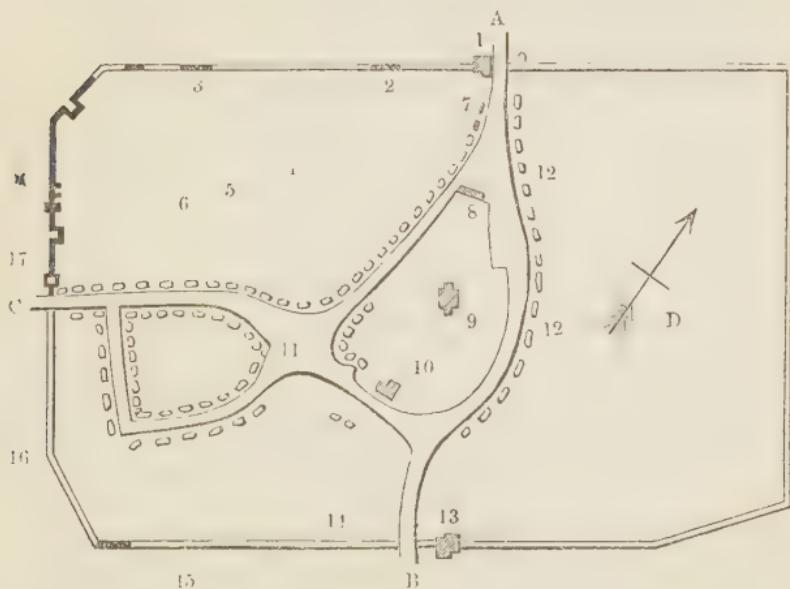
Many of the most interesting remains of ancient Isurium discovered of late years lie in the extensive gardens and grounds of Mr. Lawson's mansion, which extend along the western portions of the city wall, from the house, where the principal gateway appears to have stood, to the western corner of the city, and nearly half way along the south-western wall. Mr. Lawson's house is built on the line of the wall, and close to it was found an immense block of stone, reckoned to weigh not less than a ton and a half, with the hollow in which the hinge or pivot of the town-gates was placed, and the lead which fixed it. The size of this stone had saved it from being carried away for modern building purposes, which has been the general fate of the materials of the Roman city walls, as well as of that of the houses in the interior. We no sooner enter Mr. Lawson's gardens than we meet almost at every step with bases or capitals of columns, and other architectural fragments,

altars, &c., and here and there fragments of walls of houses in their original position. At about a hundred feet from the house we come upon the first portion of the wall which remains standing to any elevation; where it rises above the ground it is now about ten feet in thickness. Within this portion of wall, over an extent reaching to some distance back in the gardens, the remains of buildings have been disclosed, consisting chiefly of small rooms. The remains furthest inward from the wall are supposed to have been public baths, a notion which seemed to be confirmed by the circumstance that two strigils were found there. The flue tiles, for conducting the warm air through the house, may here be seen in their original arrangement, and the parts of the walls which remain preserved in some places the original fresco painting, with the colours quite fresh. At some distance further on we come to another long portion of the wall, which has been uncovered; and a little distance within this the lower parts of the walls of a mass of small rooms have been disclosed, extending over a considerable patch of ground. From the appearance of these rooms, they seem to have belonged to houses running along a street which lay between them and the walls, and some of the rooms adjoining to the street appear to have been shops. From the traces found at different places hereabouts, all the ground in this part of the city, between the town walls and the buildings where the rich tessellated pavements were found, seems to have

been covered with houses of this description, intersected probably by small streets and lanes. In clearing out these houses, great quantities of pottery, glass, fragments of fresco paintings from the walls, architectural fragments, and a variety of other articles, with a considerable quantity of Roman coins, were found. The gardener, who was my guide through this part of the site of Isurium on a recent visit, and who had assisted at these diggings, dwelt with especial satisfaction on the coins which the spade so continually brought from their concealment. "Here, in this little room," he would say, "we found fifteen shillings' worth"—"in that room we found nine shillings' worth"—and so on; for it appears that by way of encouragement the late Mr. Lawson, under whose directions these excavations were made, gave the workmen a shilling a-piece for every coin they brought him. In what appeared to have been a small court-yard among the buildings last mentioned, were found Roman querns or hand-mills for grinding corn, in the position where they had been used. After this, the city wall has been uncovered almost continuously round the western corner and along the south-western side to the modern road which passes through Aldborough. With the exception of a piece at the southern corner, the rest of the circuit of wall is traced only by the mound which covers it. In some parts the facing-stones are here very perfect; this is especially the case in the cross-wall of the southern corner, which is broken by a square tower

retiring inwards, and further on by a sort of semicircular chamber or tower without. Another square tower was found in the part of the south-western wall that was uncovered.

The city of Isurium, as defined by its walls, formed an oblong rectangular parallelogram, of which the two longest sides were upwards of two thousand one hundred feet in length, and the shortest somewhat more than thirteen hundred, making a circuit of rather more than a mile and a half, and inclosing an area of sixty acres. Three of the corners at least were cut off in the manner shown in the accompanying plan, and this was probably the case also with the fourth or northern corner, which has not yet been



PLAN OF THE SITE OF ISURIUM.

sufficiently investigated to ascertain this point. The thickness of the town wall varies from ten to sixteen feet; it appears to have been faced with carefully-squared stones, without the usual bondings of bricks—at least no traces of them have been found. In our small plan, the figures indicate, 1. Mr. Lawson's House (Aldborough Manor); 2. the site of buildings and baths behind the first mass of wall in the gardens; 3. the site of the larger mass of small buildings in the gardens; 4. a hypocaust and other foundations; 5. the gardens of the Aldburgh Arms; 6. the supposed basilica; 7. the gardens behind the old manor house; 8. Aldborough school; 9. the church; 10. the parsonage; 11. the Borough Hill; 12, 12. places on the north-eastern side of the village where foundations and pavements have been found; 13. Aldborough Hall; 14. a spot within the wall where a considerable quantity of coins has been found; 17. a modern prospect-tower, erected by Mr. Lawson: A marks the entrance to Aldborough from Boroughbridge; B and C are the entrances to the town from the south-east and south-west; they are probably all three identical with gates of the ancient city. The principal street of Isurium perhaps ran nearly in the same line as the modern road from A to B. From the discoveries yet made, we should conclude that the finest buildings stood in the middle of the town, and on the rise of the hill towards the south-west; perhaps the chief public buildings stood on its brow, on and above what is now called the

Borough Hill. But a glance even at this slight sketch of a plan will show how little has yet been done towards exploring the remains of Roman Isuriunn. All the extensive space to the north-east, marked D in the plan, forming more than a third of the whole area, is untouched; and, as it has always been laid out in fields, whatever is discovered there will probably be found in a more perfect state than the remains found in the town. The same may be said of the large space in the southern corner. The ground inclosed by the branch roads above the Borough Hill is also in a great measure unexplored.

The ground on the exterior of the walls of Isuriuum has not been more fully explored than that in the interior; and, with the exception of the excavations made by Mr. Lawson in his gardens, the discoveries have been chiefly accidental. It is well known that in Roman cities the cemeteries and sepulchral monuments lay outside the walls, and there are abundant proofs that this was the case at Isuriuum. At the entrance from Boroughbridge, on the opposite side of the road from Mr. Lawson's house, many sepulchral urns have been dug up at different times. Along the whole range of the wall in Mr. Lawson's gardens, similar articles, with graves, deposits of burnt bones, and here and there places which seemed to have been used for the purpose of cremation, were found, and some of these are still left uncovered. But the most remarkable sepulchral remains were found on the opposite side of the

city, at the spot marked 15 in our plan, which has been long popularly known by the name of Red Hills. At this spot was found in 1846 a coffin made of fine bright red and well-tempered clay, not unlike the pottery called Samian ware, but unbaked. Its form was exactly that of the sole of a shoe, seven feet two inches in length, and in its greatest breadth two feet six inches. The clay was of a uniform thickness of about six inches. It was covered over with slabs of red freestone. One might suppose that this singularly-shaped coffin had been made to contain a body entire; but, on the contrary, when uncovered, it was found to be filled with the ashes of oak-wood, among which were scattered a few fragments of human bones and some teeth. These ashes were placed on a thin substratum of clay. It seemed like the remains of a funeral pile, from which the bones had been collected and placed in an urn for interment or preservation elsewhere. Near this was found another curious tomb, not very much unlike it, except that it was formed of slabs of stone set upright in the ground, and covered with similar slabs, but it was singular as containing a second smaller receptacle sunk within the head of the larger one. It has been suggested that this small receptacle was intended to receive the remains of a child. This grave had evidently been disturbed at a former period, for it was filled with earth mixed with broken pottery. One or two inscribed monumental stones are recorded to have been found at Aldborough, but only

one is now known to exist—it was raised to the memory of a lady by her husband, the inscription being, as near as it can be now read,\*—

D. M.  
FEL. CVIE  
COLVGI  
KARIS  
L. M. P.  
F. CVR.

One object in the outer circuit of the city remains to be noticed. A little distant outside the southern corner of the town walls, at the spot marked 16 in the plan, are distinct traces of what is supposed to have been an ancient stadium; and near it is a circular mound of very considerable dimensions, evidently artificial, which is popularly named Studforth Hill. A small altar was found on or close by this mound a few years ago.

When we have surveyed the still extensive remains of this once-flourishing city, we feel conscious that it must have played a prominent part in the history of our island; that it must have had its seditions, its wars, its sieges, its triumphs, and its misfortunes; that here, where now the green sod conceals the few shattered relics from which we learn its existence, there were once rich and

\* It seems to be intended for, *Diis Manibus. Felix Quietus conjugi karissimæ libens (or lugens) monumentum posuit. Filius curavit.*

comfortable homes and splendid palaces, domestic life in all its forms, as well as pomp and pageantry; the civilisation of the Roman world, perhaps even art and literature, flourished here; and we naturally seek to know what figure it has made in history. Alas! the Roman city of Isurium is remembered only by the simple mention of its name in two ancient writers. Isurium (*Ισούπιον*), along with Eburacum, appears in the list of towns in Britain published by the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, about the year 120; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, supposed to have been composed about the year 320, or two hundred years later, Isurium is named as standing on the military road between Cataractum and Eburacum, at the distance of twenty-four Roman miles from the former, and seventeen from the latter. In a second mention of this city in the same Itinerary, it is called Isubrigantum, which is probably a mere error of a scribe for Isurium Brigantium, or Isurium of the Brigantes, in whose district it was situated. Richard of Cirencester, whose authority in this respect is, however, of very doubtful value, tells us that Isurium was the chief city of the province of the Brigantes, although he calls Eburacum their capital.\* Such is absolutely all that we

\* *Supra hos, uti et ad latus, siti erant proprie sic dicti Brigantes, gens numerosissima, toti olim provinciae leges prescribens. His cultae civitates, Epiacum, Vinovium, Cambodunum, Cataracton, Galaeum, Olicana, et primaria Isurium. Eboracum vero, ad Urum fluvium, caput provinciae.*

know—perhaps, as far as regards Richard's statement, more than we know—of Roman Isurium from written records; yet the rather ardent imagination of antiquaries of the old school and of local historians has clothed this bare skeleton in a very remarkable manner. In a recently-published local history, the history of Isurium is given in the following words:—

“ Aldburgh was the Iseur of the Druids and Britons, the Isurium of the Romans, the Burgh and afterwards the Aldburgh of the Saxons. It is supposed to have taken its original name from Isis, a deity worshipped here, and Eurus or Ure, the river near which the city stood. Previous to the Roman conquest it was the seat of the Brigantian kings, and the chief city of this part of Britain. Here reigned, before the year 50, Venutius, and his queen, Cartismandua, who were afterwards subdued by the Roman power, and by whom, after having defended his country against the Romans for nine successive years, was the brave Caractacus, king of the Silures, treacherously delivered into the hands of his enemies. The conquest of Britain was completed about the year 79, after which Isurium Brigantium became the northern metropolis of the Romans, previous to their removal to Eburacum or York.”\*

I will only remark that all this pretended history is

\* Gill's *Vallis Eboracensis*, 8vo. 1852, p. 434.

entirely without foundation; it is, in fact, a very remarkable instance of the manner in which everything relating to the early history of our island has been too often treated by writers who were eager to furnish information where the want of knowledge gave an opportunity for speculation. We have no reason for stating that Isurium was known to the “Druids and Britons” by the name of Iseur; the derivation has not even remote probability in its favour, and there is not the least ground for supposing that Isis was ever worshipped here; we have not the slightest reason for stating that it was the seat of the Brigantian kings, and its connection with Venutius and his queen is a mere creation of fancy; neither have we any reason for believing that it was ever “the northern metropolis of the Romans,” or that they removed from hence to Eburacum. All that we really know is simply that Isurium must have been one of the earlier Roman towns in Britain, since it is mentioned by Ptolemy, and that it existed at the time when the Antonine Itinerary was compiled. I mention this chiefly to warn my readers against the speculative antiquarianism which thus builds deceptive edifices without foundations.\* Such warning is not unne-

\* I regret to say that Mr. Ecroyd Smith, the most recent historian of Roman Isurium, has given in too much to these fanciful statements on the supposed British history of this city, and that he is not always quite as accurate as he ought to be in quoting his early authorities. He says that Ptolemy “occupies the city by a portion of the sixth

cessary, for there are still many stumbling-blocks of this kind which require to be removed out of the way of the young antiquary; and I hope that there are now many young antiquaries in this country to receive the hint as an acceptable one.\*

legion;" but if he had looked at Ptolemy himself he would see that Ptolemy states merely that Eburacum was occupied by the sixth legion, saying nothing of any part of any legion being connected with Isurium.

\* It is much to be regretted that persons should venture to print opinions and conjectures on subjects of a scientific character, of the science of which they are not acquainted with the first rudiments; especially when those rudiments are now not difficult to be obtained. We have some strange examples in the book of which we have been speaking. I think there can be few persons in England taking any interest in the early antiquities of their country who do not know that both on the red Roman pottery, known among antiquaries as Samian ware, and on the coarser whitish ware used for amphoræ, mortaria, &c., either letters or complete words are stamped, which are, in fact, the names of the potters. Hitherto the potters' marks on the white ware have not been so carefully collected as those on the red ware; in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," I have given a list of about a thousand varieties of the latter. Among them is the name of COBNERTVS, who in one example uses the mark COBNERTI M. (*i. e.* Cobnerti manu, by the hand of Cobnertus), and in a fragment in the museum at Aldborough it is COB, either an abbreviation or merely a fragment of the mark (I have not seen it to be able to say which). Mr. Gill has printed the following droll suggestion on what he describes as "one with a horse and a child playing near a woman having a head-dress of the noted *galerus* or helmet fashion, and the inscription, C.O.B., which we venture to interpret, *Conjagi Optimat Britannico*, considering it as a token of gallantry from a Roman soldier to his British good housewife."!!! This writer is still more ingenious when he gets among

The internal wars which preceded the establishment of the Angles in the north of England seem to have left Isurium ruined and deserted. Earth and rubbish gradually accumulated on its floors, until, at a period which is not known, the Anglo-Saxons pulled down the walls of the houses which remained above-ground, for materials to build themselves houses in the middle of the ruined city, and thus was formed a new town, which, from its position on the northern road, attained to a certain degree of importance, but not sufficient to obtain for it any more dis-

the amphoræ and mortaria. The following are nearly all well-known potters' marks—the first is the commencement of the name Valerius, or Valens, both of which are found in some instances complete, and the second is found sometimes with an additional letter, L.C.F.P.C.O., the *o* no doubt standing for *officinā*, or, “from the workshop” of the individual or individuals indicated by the letters preceding. “Pieces of rims of similar pateræ,” says the book alluded to, “have V.A. on one side (*[civitas] Victrix Antiqua*), on another Q. On the handle of the large amphora is L.C.F.P.C., most probably a contraction of *Lucius Cerealis fecit Praefectus castrorum* [the præfector castrorum turned into a potter!]; on another is C.I.I.B., a contraction of *Civitas Indigena Isurii Brigantum*. On another, R.V.A. (*Romana, Valens, Antiqua*,) showing that Aldburgh, at the most early period to which we can refer, boasted of its antiquity.” !!

Truly, to ingenuity which could make such discoveries as these, we might recommend for employment some of those mysterious combinations of letters, such as L.S.D.—M.P.—Q.C.—F.S.A.—and the like, which are not uncommon at the present day. We can hardly, indeed, imagine the publication of such remarks as those we have just quoted in the year 1852.

tinctive name than that of the Burgh, or, as we find it called at a somewhat later period, the Old Burgh, either on account of the ancient walls which surrounded it, or to distinguish it from the new burgh, now called Boroughbridge. The Saxon town of Burgh is said by one of our historians to have been sacked and burnt by the Danes in the year 766,\* but it recovered from this disaster, as it did also from the desolation caused by the Normans after the Conquest. It subsequently became a borough town, sending two members to Parliament; but when the great north road was turned from its former course to cross the river at Boroughbridge, Aldborough soon lost what little importance it previously possessed, and it is now no better than a large village. Like its neighbour, Boroughbridge, it was disfranchised by the Reform Bill.

We owe the increased interest which has during the last few years been attached to this place to the excavations made by the late Andrew Lawson, Esq. which have been already mentioned, and which have brought to light so many remains of the ancient city. It is to be hoped that these researches will be continued in the same spirit by his son, and that other parts of this interesting site will be similarly explored. We can only lament over the loss of multitudes of interesting articles illustrative of the manners

\* The only authority given for this statement is rather a late writer, Ralph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, though he probably took it from some earlier annalist.

and condition of the Roman inhabitants of Isurium, which have been dug up in former days only to be dispersed and destroyed. In the course of Mr. Lawson's excavations, a variety of small articles, such as personal ornaments, domestic utensils, &c. with great numbers of Roman coins, were found. These, with what were gathered from accidental discoveries in the village, have been carefully collected by Mr. Lawson, and deposited, with the choicest samples of pottery and glass, as well as fragments of wall-paintings, sculpture, and a great variety of other objects, in a museum built for their reception. The Museum Isurianum, close to the Manor House, is usually open to all visitors. When I visited the place recently, it was closed on account of repairs that were going on in the house. The choicest of its treasures have been carefully drawn and engraved in Mr. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, a work published recently under the patronage of the late Mr. Lawson, and containing admirably-executed pictures of most of the objects described in the foregoing sketch, especially of the pavements, for which Aldborough is celebrated.\*

The country for miles round Isurium has been very little explored in search of Roman remains, but it was once covered with Roman roads and Roman buildings and monu-

\* *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*: the Remains of the Roman Isurium, (now Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, Yorkshire), illustrated. 4to. London, 1852.

ments, and some of those which have been from time to time accidentally brought to light show how much still remains concealed. One or two Roman milliaria, or mile-stones, have been found at no great distance from the ancient city. One of these, now in the old manor house at Aldborough, was discovered near a place called Duel-cross, by a Roman road, as far as I can gather, about three miles to the north-west of Aldborough. It is in the usual form of a cylinder, and has this apparently nearly perfect inscription:—

IMP C  
AES C ME  
SSI VS  
Q DECI  
TRA PIO  
FELICI  
AUG  
XX C  
S

Which Mr. Roach Smith reads, “*Imp. Cæs. C. Messius Q. Decio. Tra. Pio Felici Aug. XX. C. S.*” *i.e.* “To the Emperor Cæsar Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, the good, happy, and august. From C—— twenty miles.” I am inclined to think that the town of which the initial only remains was Cataracto, which is placed in the itineraries at a distance of twenty-four miles from Isurium; and if this stone was found, as stated, at about three miles from Aldborough in that direction, it might have stood originally

at the fourth mile from Isurium, and the twentieth from Cataracto. The emperor Decius, to whom it is dedicated, succeeded Philippus in A.D. 249, and was slain in battle in 251, which fixes the date of this monument within a few months.\* It is a proof of the immediate and constant communication between Rome and Britain at this time, even at a troubled period, that we should find monuments commemorative of emperors whose reigns were so short that we could have supposed them hardly even known in the distant colony.

The site of Isurium is worth more than a transient visit, and I presume the wanderer who is desirous of exploring it will naturally establish himself at Boroughbridge. He will find other objects of interest around, as Ripon and Fountains Abbey are within no great distance; but there is one especially which he must not leave Boroughbridge without seeing. If he proceed along the main street or road of the town from the bridge, and take the first road which turns to the right, pursuing it about half a mile, he will perceive near the hedge in a field on his left hand a tall, rude obelisk of stone. This is one of the celebrated Devil's Arrows, of which antiquaries and topographers have spoken so often. In a field on the other side of the road are two similar mo-

\* Part of the inscription, it will be perceived, is in the nominative, and part in the dative case, which we must ascribe to the ignorance or carelessness of the stone-cutter. Such blunders are not uncommon in the Roman inscriptions in the provinces.

numents; there was formerly a fourth, which was thrown down and destroyed. It would be space thrown away to repeat the vain speculations to which these curious monuments have given rise. I confess that I see in them no point of close resemblance with the monuments usually called Druidical. My visit to these monuments was a very hasty one, and I only examined closely the stone in the field on the left-hand side of the road going from Boroughbridge, which is the southern one—they are nearly in a line running north and south. The stone I examined had evidently been carefully squared and formed by men skilful in working stone; it is in fact a veritable obelisk, upwards of twenty-two feet high. It has artificial grooves or flutings at the top. The second or middle obelisk seems to resemble closely the first; but the third or northernmost is much broader in its form. There is nothing about them to lead us to any opinion on the purpose for which they were erected, but probability leans certainly to a Roman origin. They are formed of the coarse rag or millstone-grit of this county, and are supposed to have been brought from the quarries at Plumpton, a distance of about ten miles.

## CHAPTER XIII.

BRAMBER CASTLE AND THE EARLY CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF THE  
NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THE transit from Brighton to Shoreham by the railway occupies with the quick trains about ten minutes. Near the station at the latter place is a good inn, where the visitor may obtain a lunch, or a fly if he be not inclined to walk; for the road up the valley of the Adur is equally pleasant as a walk or as a drive. Closely overhung on the right by swelling eminences, it presents a wider prospect towards the loftier and more distant downs on the left; while, below, the bed of the Adur runs through a flat which is still partially covered with water when the tide is in, and which evidently once formed an arm of the sea. The views vary considerably as we proceed, until, at a distance of about six miles, we cross the river at Beeding bridge, and approach the little rural town of Bramber. We should hardly have ventured to call it more than a village, had it not only a few years ago sent two members to Parliament, its population consisting then of somewhat less than a hundred persons. However, in whatever light in this

respect it is considered, be it borough, town, or village, it presents to the visitor a charming assemblage of cottages and country-houses, grouped along the two sides of the road, and completely embosomed in gardens and trees.

I have seldom seen anything of its kind more picturesque than the view of the tall, slender fragment of the Norman keep of Bramber castle, as, when we enter the village, it looks down upon us from the brow of the wooded eminence on which it stands. A steep winding walk turning from the road leads us to this summit, and we there enter an area of irregular oval form, five hundred and sixty feet long from north to south, and exactly one-half as much in its greatest breadth from east to west. It has been surrounded by a strong wall of flints and rubble, considerable portions of which remain, but almost concealed under a luxuriant covering of plants and bushes. They inclose the whole summit of an elevated knoll, rising boldly out of the plain, and are partly surrounded with a very deep foss and earthen vallum. The entrance was at the southern extremity of the area, immediately above the town, and the ruined gateway-tower still remains, adjoining to which was the keep, of which one of the side-walls is standing, with some fragments of the foundations attached. These are the only remains of the Norman castle of the Braoses, to whom this property was granted immediately after the Conquest. Exactly in the middle of the area rises a large mound, which perhaps once supported some of the buildings of the

castle, remains of which may be concealed within it; it now presents a beautiful prospect of the country around, and we feel when standing upon it the importance of its position for a fortress or a town, at a time when the flat to the south was covered by the sea, and ships could approach almost to the foot of the hill on which the castle stood.

Bramber was certainly in early times a much more important place than at present. From the mention of it in Domesday Book, we learn that there was a fortress of some kind here before the Conquest. The existing walls of the circuit appear to have been adopted by the Normans when they built the new castle, which was held for several generations by the great family of De Braose. From them it passed to the Howards.

Somewhere on this part of the Sussex coast stood a Roman seaport town called the *Portus Adurni*, which was garrisoned at the time of the compilation of the *Notitia Imperii*—that is, at the beginning of the fifth century—by a division of the Roman troops called *exploratores*. The site of this town has been a matter of much doubt among antiquaries; it has been supposed to have stood near Portslade,\* and people seemed generally to have come to the

\* The claims of Portslade have been stated to me as follows. “It is pretty clear that the port of the Adur was once there. In close proximity to it is the parish of Aldrington, ~~anciently~~ Adrington. This place has been robbed of its houses by encroachments of the ocean. The ruins of the parish church form a picturesque object visible from the

conclusion that, as they found no visible traces of it, it must have occupied some spot on the coast which has been carried away by the sea. Mr. Roach Smith has recently stated his opinion that he has found the true site of the Roman *Portus Adurni* in Bramber castle. After a fair consideration of the question I am inclined to think that Mr. Smith is right. Its name would lead us naturally to suppose that it stood at the mouth of the river Adur, and this site was then the head of the bay into which the Adur ran. It overlooks the Roman road, which in its course from Anderida (Pevensey) to Regnum (Chichester) passes here for the very reason that it was the head of the bay, and that if it had run nearer the coast it would have been necessary to cross the water in boats. This Roman road is now known in parts, like that from the Portus Lemanis to Canterbury, by the name of the Stone Street, no doubt from the manner in which it was paved. Under this road, just before entering the village of Bramber from Beeding-bridge, were discovered, in the course of some excavations in the year 1839, the ruins of a very ancient bridge, the materials of which were soon cleared away; but some imperfect observations that were made lead to the belief that

railway. The population of Aldrington in 1841 was *one*--or rather three-fourths of one--to wit, a one-legged man who kept the toll-gate! At Southwick, also close to Portslade, the remains of a fine Roman villa were found some years ago on the estate of Nathaniel Hall, Esq."

part at least of the remains was Roman masonry.\* Roman remains of different kinds, especially sepulchral, have been found in the immediate vicinity of Bramber on almost every side. Mr. Smith is of opinion that the walls of the circuit are Roman, and, although they want many of the usual characteristics of Roman masonry, we have other samples of acknowledged Roman masonry in this country which are equally deficient in those characteristics, and which are not unlike that at Bramber. As the *Portus Adurni* is only known from the *Notitia Imperii*, and is not mentioned in any of the Itineraries or earlier writers, it was perhaps a fortress raised at a late period of the Roman occupation, and the walls may have been built hastily, with the materials readiest at hand, and the best mortar that could be made under the circumstances. This inclosure at all events certainly bears little resemblance in plan to a Norman castle. The Roman walls may have been preserved during the Saxon period, and they may have been adopted by the Norman builders, who erected the purely Norman castle at the southern end, as being nearest to the port, which still existed, though perhaps already much diminished in depth of water from what it was in the time of the Romans. In fact, instead of the sea encroaching

\* A full account of this bridge, drawn up by the Rev. Edward Turner, of Maresfield, with plans by Mr. Figg of Lewes, will be found in the second volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

upon the land here, the land has been constantly gaining upon the sea, in consequence of the sand and alluvial soil which was collecting at the mouth of the river. Of the existence of this great bay or harbour there can be little doubt. Camden, who lived under Elizabeth and James I. tells us that, "in foregoing times," ships went up to Bramber with full sail. The port was afterwards moved to Old Shoreham, and, as the filling up of the bay went on, Old Shoreham, as well as Bramber, lost its importance, which was transferred to New Shoreham, a town which also is experiencing the same fate. Mr. Roach Smith recently caused a trench to be dug across the northern part of the area of Bramber castle, in the hopes that some discovery might be made which would throw light on the early history of the place, of which, however, the only result was the digging up of a single Roman coin, a proof that the spot had been occupied in Roman times. It is desirable that more extensive excavations should be made. Those already commenced have led to the uncovering of some mediæval buildings of apparently a rather late date, adjoining internally to the north-eastern wall, and add to the interest of the place, which is now a favourite resort for pic-nic parties.

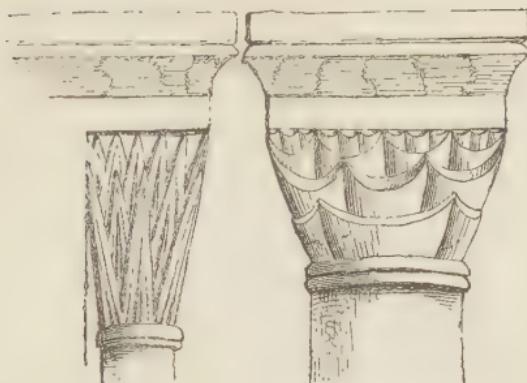
The part of Sussex we are now visiting is peculiarly interesting for its numerous antiquities. Traces of Roman cemeteries and Roman villas are common; a villa of large extent has been discovered at North-wick. The hilltops

are covered with earthworks and barrows; the great camp of Cissbury is at no great distance. If we pass from Roman to mediæval works, there is scarcely a church in this neighbourhood which does not offer some feature of peculiar interest to the lover of ecclesiastical architecture. The little church of Bramber itself, built on the slope of the bank under the mouldering walls of the castle of the Braoses, and near to the entrance gateway, is an interesting Norman building. At a short distance in a westward direction from Bramber, following the road which occupies the ancient Roman way, or Stone Street, we come to the village of Steyning, which has been supposed to take its name from the Stone Street. The church of Steyning is a Norman building, of very great interest, which seems to have delighted Rickman by the richness of its elaborate ornamentation. The churches of Old and New Shoreham are both very interesting buildings of the Norman period, and are well worthy of study. The latter, a late-Norman building, is considered by many to be one of the finest churches in Sussex, and presents many peculiarities of detail. Among these are certainly its ornamented capitals, of which our cut represents two examples, very different from each other in their proportions, and yet having some resemblance in the general character of the design. At Broadwater, some four or five miles west of Shoreham, which is reached by a pleasant walk across the fields, there is also a fine Norman church, with some very elaborate





SOMPTING CHURCH.



Norman Capitals in New Shoreham Church.

work in the interior. On our way to Broadwater, we pass the little rural village of Sompting, at which we will arrest our steps for a while. Domesday Book informs us that at the time of the Norman Conquest there was a church at Sompting, and there can be little doubt that the tower of that identical Saxon church was the same as that we now see standing in a singular degree of perfection.

It was long a careless and ignorant custom of topographical writers to call round arches in church windows and doors indiscriminately Saxon. This practice gave rise to a sort of vulgar error on the subject, which is hardly yet entirely dispelled. More careful observation, nevertheless, has shown that, though the Anglo-Saxon architects did undoubtedly make round arches, almost all those of this form that remain in our old parish churches are Norman, that is, they belong to the period extending from the Norman Conquest to the latter part of the twelfth century.

It is not the semi-circular form of the arches which distinguished between Saxon and Norman, and it might reasonably have been doubted, as it has been, whether we really possessed any remains of Anglo-Saxon architecture at all, had not further observation led to the discovery of a class of churches which possess certain peculiarities that differ considerably from what is known to be Norman work. These characteristic peculiarities are—

1. Double-arched windows, the arches side by side, and the division between them supported by a small columnar prop.
2. Columns, which, from the circumstance of their resembling the wooden supports of balusters, turned on a lathe, with mouldings, have been termed baluster columns.
3. Arches, rather improperly so named, the heads of which form a straight-lined angle, as if formed by two flat surfaces leaning together. These are intermixed with the circular arches.
4. Capitals foliated, in rude imitation of Roman capitals, and dissimilar in character to the generality of Norman capitals.
5. On the exterior masonry, plain vertical beads of stone running up the tower and body of the church, and sometimes springing from similar beads running round the arches of the door or windows.
6. The masonry at the corners of the building arranged in what is called “long and short” quoining, formed

by stones being placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise. In one or two instances where the church was built near a Roman site, Roman tiles have been used for this purpose, when they present the appearance represented in the margin.

These peculiarities, whether found singly or combined together, are now generally regarded as characteristics of Anglo-Saxon architecture, though, as the supposed remains of Anglo-Saxon architecture are found principally in the towers, it is not certain whether some of them, particularly the double-arched windows, and the baluster columns, belonged particularly to that part of the building. As I have already hinted, the only reason why these characteristics were first supposed to be Saxon was the certainty that they were of an early date, and their dissimilarity from anything known to be Norman. But a new light has been since thrown on the subject, which seems to show that these characteristics of architectural style have been correctly ascribed to our Saxon forefathers. An examination of the representations of buildings in illuminated manuscripts, certainly of the Anglo-Saxon period, and some of them far from late in that period, has furnished us with examples of nearly all the peculiarities just alluded to, but more especially of the angular heads of windows (we can hardly call them arches), of the baluster columns, and of the foliated capitals.\*

\* I believe I am correct in stating that I first pointed out this im-

As I have said before, the situation of the church and village of Sompting is extremely picturesque. The accompanying engraving from a sketch by Mr. Fairholt will give some notion of the former. The tower of Sompting church, which is by much the most interesting part of the building, contains several of the more remarkable peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon style of architecture, and to the period of that style we can have no hesitation in ascribing it. On one side of the tower we have the double-arched windows, with the columnar prop in the middle, though here it is not a baluster column. On another side we have the rectilinear-angled heads to two windows. The vertical stone bead is also seen running up the tower. The arches inside the tower are supported on very peculiar foliated capitals, which differ much in style and character from the Norman capitals in the body of the church. The Norman work in this church is also well worthy of examination, although it appears to be not older than the middle of the twelfth century. It is supposed that some parts of the masonry of the church are also portions of the older Saxon building. There is one circumstance connected with Sompting tower which is particularly interesting; it has evidently been

portant confirmation of Rickman's classification of Anglo-Saxon architecture in a paper on the subject in the first volume of the *Archæological Journal*. For further information on the style or styles of Architecture existing in England during the Saxon period, I would refer the reader to Mr. E. A. Freeman's "*History of Architecture*," the best work on the subject yet written.

preserved entire to the top, and remains an almost unique example of the termination of a Saxon steeple. I have been told, indeed, that the spire once rose to a greater elevation, springing from the gables at a different angle; but, if this be the case, its character has not been altered. In the illustrations to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing the versions of Scripture history ascribed to Cædmon, there are several figures intended to represent church towers and steeples; and one or two seem to terminate in short low spires resembling that of Sompting.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE ROMAN VILLA AT BIGNOR.

THE line of railway westward of Shoreham runs along the low ground between the sea and the edge of the downs, the latter of which are seen to the right, their distance increasing considerably as we approach towards Arundel, where the first range of hills turns inland, and a rather wide valley intervenes before the commencement of the ridge on which Arundel stands. As we proceed, we are forcibly reminded of a peculiarity of the Southern Sussex names—the termination in *ing*, derived, it is believed, from the patronymic of the Saxon families who settled in these localities, the Somtingas, Angmeringas, Weorthingas, Garingas, Stæningas, &c. The stations between Shoreham and Arundel are Lancing, Worthing, Goring, and Angmering. At several of these places, and indeed all along this district, Roman antiquities are frequently found, and the country seems to have been covered with handsome villas in the Roman period. Not only Roman antiquities of various kinds, but Roman and Gaulish coins, have been found in the neighbourhood of Lancing; and the Lancing

downs are remarkable for discoveries of this kind. The same may be said of Worthing, where Gaulish gold coins have been found in considerable numbers, besides an abundance of Roman antiquities. The presence of the Gaulish coins is no doubt a proof that the settlements in this district date from the beginning of the Roman occupation of the island. Still further on, at a place called Avisford, on the other side of Arundel, a very interesting Roman sepulchral interment was found in the year 1817. In a pasture-field a labourer was making holes with a crowbar for the purpose of setting up hurdles, when the resistance offered to his implement a few inches below the surface excited his curiosity, and his employer causing the surface to be removed, discovered a square stone chest, five feet long, two feet wide, and fifteen inches deep. When opened, it contained a very miscellaneous collection of articles. In the middle stood a beautiful large square vase of green glass, with a reeded handle, similar to those frequently found in Roman sepulchres. It contained the calcined bones of the deceased. Round it were arranged, in no apparent order, three elegantly-shaped vases or jugs of earthenware, with handles; several pateræ; a pair of sandals studded with innumerable little hexagonal brass nails fancifully arranged; three lamps; four vessels, which appeared to be lampstands, placed on brackets or corbels at the four corners; an oval dish, scalloped round the edge, with a handle, and containing a transparent agate of

the size and shape of a pigeon's egg; another dish, which it is said contained a black stone of a similar size and form; and a small glass bottle with a double handle.\*

The Arundel and Littlehampton station is a short distance beyond that of Angmering, and from it the visitor has a not unpleasant ride of full four miles to the town of Arundel. During the last mile the road is a gradual ascent, until we reach the brow of the hill on the southern slope of which the town is built, and which is crowned by the imposing masses of Arundel castle. The town of Arundel is remarkably well placed for picturesque effect, and the general views, especially in the approach from Littlehampton by the river, are singularly beautiful. The principal street leads us by a very steep ascent to the top of the hill, where are the entrances to the castle and park.

The castle, large portions of the buildings of which are modern, occupies a platform at the top of the hill, to the north-east of the town, in a position which, from the circumstance of the hill being here almost perpendicular, is singularly bold. The town has several points of interest; besides the castle and the church, it contains some monastic ruins, and there are a few good examples of old street architecture. But its great interest is the beauty of the surrounding country and of the rural walks in its neighbourhood. I know few places within easy reach of

\* A plate of these curious relics is given in the first volume of Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua."

London which offer so many attractions in this respect as Arundel.

I will choose on the present occasion an excursion which is remarkable equally for the beauty of its views, and for the interesting site to which it will lead us. For between two and three miles our course lies over the truly sylvan glades of Arundel Park. Undulating hills, covered with a rich and soft carpet of green sod, broken with frequent and magnificent clumps of trees, every now and then reveal to us fine views over the vale below to the east and south-east. The scene is enlivened with herds of deer, which abound in the park. When at length we quit the inclosure of the park, we come upon a range of bold downs running out in a north-westerly direction, while the view to the right, upon the valley of which we have already spoken, is extensive and extremely fine. To the left the valley opening towards Chichester, totally different in its character from the other, is thickly and beautifully wooded. If we proceed a little way along the road and then look back, we see to advantage the boldly-elevated position of the park we have left, while below our view wanders over the whole extent of low ground which stretches down to the coast. Now pursuing our course, we have an elevated down before us, which is called Bury hill, no doubt from the large barrow or tumulus at the top. We will now turn off to the left from the high road, and walk across the grass until we come to a cartway, which leads us over the western

slope of Bury hill. Below us, to our left, is a little comb or hollow, from which on the other side rises another elevation called Bignor hill. Before us we have a very noble prospect, bounded westwardly by a range of chalk hills, and northwardly by more distant elevations. Among the trees, at the distance of about a mile or rather more, in the valley below, at the foot of the chalk hills, stands the village of Bignor. An attempt is made in the accompanying sketch to give a faint idea of the character of this scene.

Many circumstances about the ground over which we are now passing tell us that we are in the neighbourhood of some ancient site. Besides the barrow on the top of Bury hill, there are several others scattered over the downs on which we have now turned our backs, and there is a group of them on the southern ridge of Bignor hill. If we pass over the summit of the hill last mentioned, we come immediately upon the Roman road from Chichester (the ancient *Regnum*) to London, which runs high up along its western slope, and is known by the name so common among the Roman roads in Sussex and Kent of Stane-street, or stone-street.\* Near at hand, on the other side of this street, is a farm called Cold Harbour, a name which has

\* This Roman road points so direct to the spire of Chichester cathedral, that Mr. Roach Smith, by merely making this object his aim, traced the road to within a mile of the city, and wherever the road had been so levelled in ploughed land as to be no longer visible, he invariably recovered it by keeping to the straight line. The other part of the road has not been properly explored.



SITUATION OF BIGNOR, AS SEEN FROM BURY HILL.







HUTS PROTECTING THE BIGNOR PAVEMENTS.

always been found to indicate a Roman site of some kind or other.

The road upon which we have halted for a moment leads us down the hill and direct into the village of Bignor, where it enters another road running nearly east and west, and if we turn along this road in an easterly direction, at no great distance we perceive in a field on the left-hand side of the road several huts, presenting the appearance shown in the cut annexed. These huts protect some of the pavements of one of the most magnificent Roman villas that has yet been discovered in our island. The spot of which we are speaking is just elevated enough to give a commanding view of the valley to the sout'1-east. At about half a mile to the east of Bignor church, two fields had been known from time immemorial as the Berry field and the Town field, the former no doubt because it had been the site of a principal mass of buildings (from the Anglo-Saxon *beorh*), and the other because it was an old tradition among the inhabitants of the parish that the "town" of Bignor once stood there. It was in the July of the year 1811, that a ploughman, at work in the Berry field, accidentally hit upon some hard construction underground, and this, on further examination, proved to be part of a very extensive and very beautiful Roman pavement, which had evidently belonged to a large and handsome room. Soon afterwards, an excavation which was made at a distance of about thirty feet to the westward of the first, led

to the discovery of a second pavement, no less beautiful than the former, and which had equally belonged to an apartment of considerable dimensions. Information of the discovery was sent by the late Mr. King of Chichester, to Samuel Lysons, the antiquary, who now took the direction of the excavations, and under his eye they were carried on more or less each succeeding year until 1817.\* During these excavations, the Princess Charlotte, who was staying at Bognor on the Sussex coast, went with a party to see them, and there are still those in the neighbourhood who remember how, when Mr. Tupper, the tenant of the farm, was sent for to be presented to her, the lively Princess was amused, when she offered him wine, at his addressing her by the title of "Miss" in drinking her health; and it is added that, when speaking to him in language which she intended he should understand, she said, "Come, farmer, you will wet the other eye, will you not?" he replied, nothing loath, "Thank 'ee, Miss," and tossed off a second bumper.

It had soon been discovered that the pavements and foundations thus accidentally brought to light belonged to a Roman villa, and the progress of the excavations had now shown that it was one of considerable magnitude. The buildings were in fact traced to an extent of about six hundred feet in length, by nearly three hundred and fifty

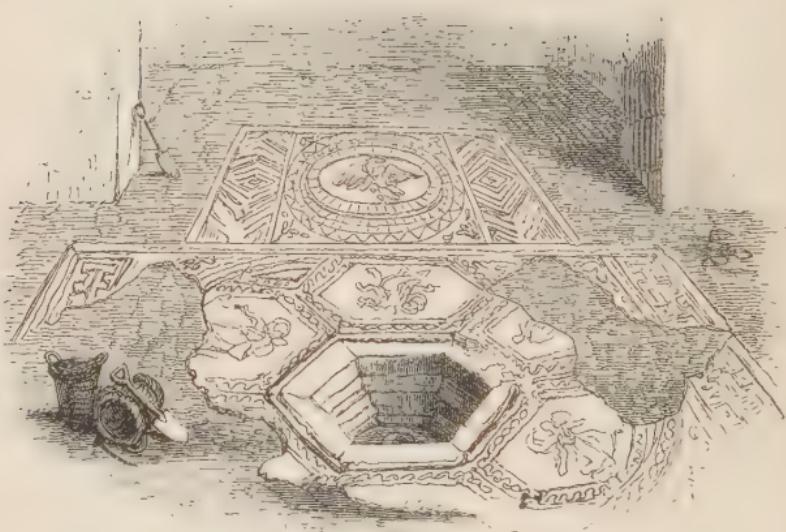
\* Plates of all the pavements are given in the account of this villa published by Lysons, in his splendid work on Roman Antiquities in Britain.

in breadth. The principal household buildings formed about one-half that length. They stood round an inner court, which was nearly a rectangular parallelogram, of not much less than a hundred and fifty feet in length by about a hundred feet in breadth. Its aspect was, in its length, nearly north-west and south-east. This court was surrounded by a very fine *crypto-porticus*, or covered gallery, ten feet wide, with a beautiful tessellated pavement. The floor of the *crypto-porticus* on the north-eastern side was considerably more elevated than on the other sides; and at the northern corner, where this north-eastern *crypto-porticus* joined the north-western one, there was a small square room, with an extremely elegant tessellated pavement, consisting of a circular central compartment, and four heads in the corners. This belonged to a square room, through which, by means of steps, people descended from the elevated *crypto-porticus* into the lower one. The walls of this corner chamber remained higher than in most other parts of the building, and they were covered with frescoes, the colours of which, when bared of earth, were remarkably fresh and vivid.

Contrary to what appears to have been the usual arrangement of these villas, where, as in the noble villa at Woodchester in Gloucestershire, the chief apartments are at the end (*au fond*) of this inner court, they are here on one side, the north-eastern. The pavement (and consequently the apartment) first discovered in the summer of

1811 was about the middle of this side. It was in two divisions, a larger and a smaller one, no doubt answering to a peculiar form of the apartment, which represented somewhat the effect, on a much larger scale, of the ordinary drawing-rooms in London, with a large front room and a smaller back one, opening in the whole width into each other. It is not improbable that there was a curtain thrown across, by which the two rooms might at will be separated, or thrown into one. The pavement in each of these two divisions has a circular compartment, that in the larger room being sixteen feet in diameter, and that in the smaller compartment seven and a half. The centre of the larger compartment or room was occupied by a hexagonal cistern or fountain, formed of hard white stone, four feet in diameter, and one foot seven inches and three quarters in depth. Around this fountain there was a border of stone, nine inches and a half wide, and below this border internally, at about half the depth, a step, five inches and a half wide, ran all round. At the bottom, in the centre, was a round hole three inches in diameter, in which was found a leaden pipe, which was traced, running in a gutter of stone, under the apartment to the southward. There may, perhaps, have been a forcing machine of some kind attached to this pipe to make a *jet-d'eau* in the middle of the apartment, over which there was probably an opening in the roof, or a dome. In the beautiful pavement of this room, the circular compartment with the fountain in the





PAVEMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL ROOM AT BIGNOR.

centre was divided into six hexagonal compartments, in which were figures of dancing nymphs. The other circular compartment of this great pavement, belonging to the smaller division of the room, contained in the centre a large picture representing the Rape of Ganymede. This has been supposed, perhaps from the subject of the pavement, to be a banqueting-room. To judge by the remains, the walls had been beautifully painted in fresco, fragments of which were lying about, on which the colours were perfectly fresh. A fragment or two of small Doric columns were found among the rubbish about this apartment. It may be added, that this apartment lay, with the division which contains the fountain adjoining to the *crypto-porticus*, on the north-east side of the court, and the Ganymede compartment backwards from the court.

The annexed cut represents the pavement and fountain of this apartment as now seen under cover of the protecting shed. The supposed banqueting-room was warmed by a hypocaust, the *præfurnium*, or fireplace, of which was found outside the wall. Several other rooms were found with pavements divided similarly into compartments. In one, among the buildings at the north-west corner, were the remains of another handsome pavement, which had had heads at the corners representing the four Seasons. That of Winter remains, and is extremely well worked. This personification of the coldest season is represented with matronly aspect, covered with drapery, and holding a

leafless branch in her hand. The excavations during the year 1813 revealed the foundations of a very magnificent room, the pavement of which was also divided into two compartments, the smaller of which had formed a semi-circular room, or recess. This pavement was particularly rich. The figures with which it was ornamented were chiefly dancing cupids or genii, but there was a broad band between the body of the apartment and the semicircular recess, with gladiatorial scenes, in which the cupids or genii were represented as *retiarii* and *secutores*, in the different phases of the combat. In another room, which was fourteen and a half feet by seventeen, and of which the lower part of the walls seem not to have been so much destroyed as in many of the others, was found a very curious example of the fireplace within the room in contradistinction from the hypocaust for warming the apartments with hot air—the *caminus* or *focus*. We are perfectly well aware that such fireplaces were used in Roman houses, and every reader of the classic poets will remember the exhortation of Horace—

Dissolve frigus, ligna *super foco*  
Large reponens.

It appears from the letters of the younger Pliny, that in his time (the middle of the second century) the hypocausts were only beginning to come into general use in houses; yet in Britain they are found in almost every building we discover, however small.

The inner court which we have been describing was surrounded by a great number of apartments of various dimensions, of which those already mentioned appear to have been the principal. At the south-west end of the south-western *crypto-porticus*, was found a large bath-room, with the bath in an almost perfect state. Adjoining to it were large rooms with hypocausts, which appear also to have been intended for purposes connected with bathing and the ablution of the person. Other large rooms adjoined the southern corner at the extremity of the south-eastern end of the inner court, in the middle of which end was the grand entrance into this inner court from a much larger outer court. This outer court seems to have been surrounded with bare walls, although tracings of buildings were found in various parts of its interior. The walls of this outer court seem to have been continued so as to surround the whole edifice, which perhaps, externally, presented merely the appearance of a great irregular square-walled inclosure. It must have been a princely residence, and it is evident that the luxurious comforts of the interior were no less studied than the beauty of the scenery around.

For whom was this noble residence designed? It is a question which cannot be answered; but it is certain, from the discoveries which at different periods have been made, that splendid country villas of this kind were far from uncommon in our island during the Roman period. It

stands at the side of the Roman high road from *Regnum* (Chichester) to *Londinium* (London), a position which would be naturally chosen by a rich proprietor for his house, in order to profit by the advantage of ready conveyance. It has been conjectured that this may have been the seat of the prefect of a district, a supposition for which we have no direct authority; but there are better reasons for supposing that it was of sufficient importance to have adjoining to it a station or stopping place for travellers along the road. Under its Roman lords the district between this coast and London was probably covered with such thick forests that the roads across it were not so much frequented as others, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus the traveller from *Regnum* (Chichester) to London is taken first to *Clausentum* (Bittern) and so by *Venta* (Winchester), *Culleva* (Silchester), and *Pontes* (Staines). But Richard of Cirencester has given an iter omitted by Antoninus—that which connected the coast-towns from Southampton to Richborough; and there we have a station along apparently the road now called the Stanestreet, at a distance of ten Roman miles from Chichester (*Regnum*), which was not itself of sufficient importance to have any other name than simply that of *Ad decimum*, the station at the tenth mile. This distance from Chichester along the Stanestreet would bring us close to Bignor, and the road may here have separated, one branch going on to the capital, the other proceeding by way of Bramber and

Lewes to Pevensey (*Anderida*).<sup>\*</sup> That the villa I have been describing belonged to somebody of consequence can hardly be doubted; and a curious discovery made during the excavations afforded presumptive evidence that there had been an important establishment in this beautiful spot from a very early period. In the middle of the court, under the later work, were discovered the foundations of old walls which seemed to have belonged to a previous villa on the same spot, which had no doubt been pulled down and rebuilt on a different plan.

It has been already intimated that some of the pavements of the Bignor villa have been kept uncovered, and that huts or sheds have been raised over them for protection. They are shown to visitors on the payment of a small fee. It is understood, however, that at the present moment the farmer to whom the land belongs is desirous of selling that portion of it which contains the remains of the Roman villa, and several suggestions have been made with regard to it. It has even been proposed to take up the principal pavements and remove them to the British Museum, or to some other national depository; but we cannot help looking upon such a proceeding as an act of vandalism which ought not to be permitted. A great part

\* The Roman roads in Sussex have never been carefully examined. The road from Bramber westward, passing through Steyning, appears to have run within the downs, and therefore in the direction of Bignor; yet there are reasons for believing that another road ran from *Regnum* to the east, going nearer the coast.

of the interest of these remains attaches to them as a whole and to the spot on which they stand, and would be destroyed by removal. If the government will not interfere in a case like this—which it would do in any other country—it is to be hoped that there is public spirit enough to secure the preservation of these interesting remains on the site where they stand, in such a manner that they may be seen to the most advantage by every one that will visit them. Let us have at least one Roman villa—in the condition which time has permitted it to remain—kept to satisfy public curiosity, and we could not choose a better than one which has preserved such remarkable evidence of its former splendour, and at the same time presents a variety of characteristics of the domestic economy of the Roman occupiers of this island, which we should perhaps not find thus combined together elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XV.

## STONEHENGE.

WHEN the great railway lines first began to be laid down there was a general complaint among the lovers of picturesque scenery that travelling in future would be carried on within dull cuttings and through dark tunnels, and that we should lose for ever the fine views which we used to enjoy from the top of a stage-coach. The complaint has proved to be in a great measure without foundation, for many lines might be pointed out which present a long succession of views that could hardly be surpassed. Among these we may class the South-western line, which, generally running on an embankment, in its course through the fine agricultural counties of Surrey and Hampshire, indulges us with various and extensive prospects with scarcely any intermission. The beautifully rural scenery around Winchester is especially striking. Through this scenery we pursue our course to Bishopstoke, the station from which a branch line will carry us forward to Salis-

bury. This new line presents the same general character as the one we have left. The rural beauties of the neighbourhood of Winchester continue, and are strongly marked as we approach the picturesque town of Romsey, with its fine old abbey church, which is seen to advantage from the line. Beyond Romsey the country for awhile is somewhat less interesting; but it soon changes again, and the scenery becomes bolder and more hilly, until at length we descrie before us the tall, slender spire of Salisbury cathedral.

Salisbury, situated in a bottom into which several fine valleys open, each bringing its tributary waters, is a straggling old city, divided and surrounded by streams. The principal of these is the Avon, which is joined by the united streams of the Nadder and Wily on one side of the town, and by the Bourne on the other. As a portion of the water from these rivers is turned into narrow channels which run along almost every street in Salisbury, the town has a peculiar appearance of cleanliness, but it presents few objects of much interest except its cathedral; and, from the circumstance of the late period of its settlement, it contains not many of remote antiquity. There are a few rather early houses, several of which are of the fifteenth century, if not older. One of the finest of these, as a whole, is the pile of building formerly known as the George Inn. Some of the others have interesting carved work in the interior, both in wood and stone. One of these, a stone-fronted house in New Street, has a stone

fire-place in the upper room, over which is a very curious painting in distemper, of the fifteenth century, representing the Adoration of the Three Kings. Salisbury Cathedral, which was built by Bishop Poor and his two successors, between 1220, when the foundation-stone was laid, and 1258, when the edifice was dedicated, is a very perfect specimen of the later period of the Early-English style. It has a peculiarity not usual among buildings of this description, that it was begun and completed in the same style of architecture, and probably with but little alteration in the original plan. It is remarkable for the general symmetry of its form, and for its noble spire, which served and probably was intended as a landmark to travellers over the almost trackless downs. Pepys, travelling over Salisbury Plain from Hungerford to Salisbury in the year 1668, tells us that in the latter part of the journey he went "all over the plain by the sight of the steeple to Salisbury."

No county in England is so remarkable for its numerous antiquities of an early date as Wiltshire, and one of the most celebrated monuments in this island stands within a short distance of Salisbury. Leaving the city by its northern suburb, we proceed along the high road to Devizes, which leads us by a gradual ascent along the edge of a hill which overlooks the valley of the Avon. Rich cornfields border the road on each side, and as we advance we leave to the right beautiful and constantly-changing

views of the valley below, with the bold fortifications of Old Sarum forming a very prominent object in the landscape. If we look back, the spire of Salisbury cathedral rises from among the trees in which the city is embosomed. At a distance of about three miles the hedgerows cease, and we soon find ourselves upon an open and rather elevated down, covered with fine soft grass, which stretches out in the distance before us. To the right we have still the fertile valley below, bounded northwardly by the outlines of distant hills, and having now behind us Old Sarum and still further south a distant glimpse of new Salisbury. We are now on Salisbury Plain, which stretches for miles before us in its solitary dreariness, a plain only in name, for it is in reality a series of undulating chalk downs, well described by Pepys as a “plain high and low.” We keep for the present to the Devizes road, until, at the distance of about six miles and a half from Salisbury, we see a little off the road to the left a public-house surrounded by a few trees. This is the Druid’s Head. It is a place of small accommodation in proportion to its appearance, and the visitor must not reckon on obtaining here more than bread and cheese and ale (or, as they call the strong malt liquor in Wiltshire, beer), anything like a good night’s lodging being out of the question. From the Druid’s Head the wanderer must strike across the downs in rather a north-easterly direction. A large barrow scattered here and there within sight of the road will already have at-

tracted his attention, and now these monuments become more numerous. He must aim at the western extremity of a plantation of firs, near which the barrows lie very thick. Many of these tumuli were opened by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and their contents are described in his work on Ancient Wiltshire. Near the end of the fir plantation are two singular rings, one on each side of our path, which are no doubt the remains of sepulchral monuments of a somewhat peculiar form, which by Sir Richard Colt Hoare were fancifully named Druid's Barrows. Just as we turn the plantation, Stonehenge, at the distance of somewhat more than half a mile, bursts full upon our view.

On me the effect of Stonehenge, when I first saw it, was disappointment. This feeling was perhaps mainly produced by the vastness of the scene around, which causes the work of men's hands to dwindle into insignificance when placed in contrast with the grander features of Nature's workmanship. It is only when we have examined it more closely, and walked round and through it, that we gradually become aware of the real magnitude of this great pile of rude stonework. Stonehenge stands on a slight swell upon elevated ground which stretches out towards the west and south, but sinks gently towards the north and east into a combe or valley. It occupies the centre of a circular area, surrounded by a slight bank and ditch, about three hundred and sixty feet in diameter. The outer circle of the building itself was about a hundred feet in

diameter. This circle consisted originally of thirty upright stones, supporting as many others placed horizontally, so as to form a continuous impost. The upright stones are about fourteen feet high above ground, and seven feet broad by three in thickness. Within this circle was another, eighty-three feet in diameter, which appears to have consisted of about the same number of upright stones, but much smaller, and with no imposts. Within this circle were two elliptical arrangements of large and small stones, the former arranged in what the French archæologists term triliths, or groups of three stones, two upright ones, and an impost. These triliths were from sixteen to twenty-one feet in height,—the highest being that to the south, the next in elevation those adjoining to it, and the lowest those towards the north. The other or inner ellipse was formed of a series of small upright stones, three of which stood before each trilith. These ellipses stand north and south; the triliths, as far as we can judge by what remains, were five in number, one, which is the largest, occupying the southern end, and two on each side. There are no traces of a trilith at the northern end, but there are remains of small stones, which are supposed to have stood by what has been considered to be the entrance, although the outer circle seems to have been perfectly uniform all round, without any indications of one place being intended for an entrance rather than another. Within the central ellipse, in front of the principal trilith, is a large flat stone, which





INTERIOR OF STONEHENGE, FROM THE EAST.

those who consider the building to be a temple call the altar. Of these numerous stones, many have been broken up and carried away for materials, and others have fallen and now lay prostrate on the ground, so that at a first glance of the interior the whole presents a very confused appearance. As might be expected, the smaller stones have suffered most, and of the inner circle a very small number remain in their position, while of the outer circle seventeen of the thirty large uprights are still standing, and some half-dozen of the imposts remain in their place. Of the larger ellipse, the two eastern triliths are standing, and nearly perfect. They are shewn in the annexed cut, which represents the interior of Stonehenge in its present condition, as seen from the eastern side of the outer circle. One of the uprights of the great southern trilith is also standing, and one of those on the western side. The other uprights and their imposts are scattered on the ground in a confused heap. One of the triliths fell so lately as the year 1797, and the stones composing it, which are very perfect, show us, as they now lie, the exact manner in which it was put together.

Four stones remaining at irregular distances would lead us to suspect that there had been originally a circle of small stones just within the bank and ditch surrounding the area of which Stonehenge occupies the centre. On the east and west sides, also just within the area, there are two singular round cavities in the ground, the object of which

is by no means apparent. The entrance into this area was evidently on the north, where it is approached by a wide and slightly-embanked road from the north-east, which, at the distance of a few hundred feet, branched off in two ways, running north and east. At the spot where this road entered the area, a large stone has fallen from its upright position, and lies flat in a hole, as though its fall had been occasioned by digging under it, perhaps in search of treasure. This stone is in its rough original condition; but, singularly enough, at the bottom of it there are evident and strong marks of the process of chiseling with the apparent object of cutting off a long projecting point to give it a better form for fixing in the ground. This point was, however, eventually left as it was, and it is not improbable that, by giving it less hold in the ground, it was partly the cause of its fall. At about a hundred yards further along the ancient road we find another stone, resembling it in character, but still preserving its upright position. The next sketch, which represents the general appearance of Stonehenge on its northern or more perfect side, is taken from near this upright stone, which is shown in the foreground, with the fallen stone beyond it. A little further back is a large barrow, and similar barrows cover all the elevated spots around.

Such is Stonehenge in its present appearance, and such is all the idea we can form of the appearance it presented when in a perfect condition. There is nothing about it to



STONEHENGE, FROM THE NORTH.



give us the slightest grounds for fixing the period at which it was built, or the object which it was intended to serve, or the events it was to commemorate. There is, however, one circumstance to be especially observed. The smaller stones are rough and unhewn, as in the generality of what are usually called druidical monuments, and which are assigned to the British period, but the stones of the outer circle and of the triliths have been squared with tools, and they have therefore been supposed to belong to a later and more civilised period than the others. Moreover, the upright stones have large tenons or projections on the top, which fitted into mortices or hollows in the superincumbent slabs. These tenons and mortices are seen in the stones that have fallen, and a tenon is shewn on the top of the leaning stone (one side of a great trilith) in our sketch of the interior. Some, however, adopting the theory of two periods of erection, reverse the order, and think that the hewn stones belonged to the original building, and that the other are later and hasty additions, when the building was turned to some other purpose.\* Both of these supposi-

\* There is a difference in the stones themselves which form this monument, as well as in their forms. The larger ones are blocks of the tertiary sandstone, known as grey-weathers; identical stones still lie dispersed over the chalk downs in their natural site. The inner circle of small stones contains greenstone, which is found nearest in Devonshire, and thus must have been brought from some distance. Some of the stones I believe present other varieties; and what is called the

tions, however, seem to be influenced by a pretended historical event, which is probably a mere fable. The various theories upon this subject are so many, and most of them so absurd, that they are really not worth enumerating. Unfortunately history has left us nothing towards clearing up the mystery.

The first direct allusion to Stonehenge is found in a Latin list of the "Wonders of Britain" (*De Mirabilibus Britanniae*), published by the historian Henry of Huntingdon, in the first half of the twelfth century. He tells us that, "At Stanhenges stones of wonderful magnitude are raised in the manner of doors, so that they seem like doors placed upon doors, nor can any one imagine by what art they were raised, or how constructed."\* Henry of Huntingdon was a great searcher into popular stories and traditions, and it seems to me sufficiently evident from this account that there was no existing notion at that time on the builders of Stonehenge, or on its object. The whole building was then probably in a perfect state, and there is one part of this early description which is sufficiently curious to deserve our attention. We are told that the stones were so placed as to resemble *doors placed upon*

altar-stone is formed of a very fine-grained calcareous sandstone, containing some minute spangles of silver mica.

\* *Apud Stanhenges lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum portarum elevati sunt, ut portæ portis superpositæ videantur, nec potest excogitare qua arte elevati sunt, vel qualiter constructi.*

*doors.* It is remarkable that just within the outer circle, on the north side, there is on the ground a comparatively small stone, which has much puzzled antiquaries in their conjectures. It is a small impost stone, with its two mortices, which appears to belong to no arrangement of stones that is now visible. Is it possible that there was originally a smaller range of uprights and imposts running along the summit of the outer circle? This would answer exactly to Henry of Huntingdon's description, and would at once account for this single puzzling stone. The others, being small and easily broken up, may have been all carried away, and this small upper circle would, from its character and position, be naturally the first to fall.

The Saxon name *Stán-henge* has a very simple meaning —the hanging stones, and would be just the sort of term applied by people to a monument of this construction of the history of which they were ignorant. It appears, however, not to have been understood by the Norman scribes, who held the Saxon language in contempt, and we find it variously written in the manuscripts *Stanhenge*, *Stanhenges*, and not unfrequently *Stanhengist*. I have no doubt that this latter form of the word arose from a mistaken derivation from the sound of the word, and that on this mistaken derivation alone was built the story published by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It was erroneously supposed that the name meant the stones of Hengist. The derivation of the names of things from those of historical personages was not only

common, but was absolutely carried to an absurd extent, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Soon after Henry of Huntingdon wrote, Geoffrey of Monmouth published the singular work called the “British History.” It is not my business here to investigate the materials of which this romance was built, in which, for the first time, a history of the formation of Stonehenge was attempted. Geoffrey pretends that when Hengist was invited a second time into Britain, the treacherous Saxon demanded a meeting with the British chieftains, and, king Vortigern having acceded to his request, a grand feast was held on the first of May at the monastery of Ambrius (*i. e.* Ambresbury). There Hengist and his followers treacherously massacred all the British nobles and princes, except the king, Vortigern, who was taken prisoner and held as a hostage. Subsequently Vortigern obtained his liberty, was slain, and succeeded by Aurelius Ambrosius. Under this prince, the Saxons were overcome, Hengist taken prisoner and put to death, and peace restored throughout Britain. The British chiefs slain by Hengist had received Christian burial from St. Eldad, “not far from Kaercaradauc, now Salisbury (*i. e.* Old Sarum), in a burial place near the monastery of abbot Ambrius.”\* When Aurelius had tri-

\* Quorum corpora beatus Eldadus postmodum sepelivit, atque Christiano more humavit, haud longe a Kaercaradauc, quæ nunc Salesberia dicitur, in cemetrio quod est juxta cœnobium Ambrii abbatis, qui olim fundator ipsius extiteret. Galfr. Mon. Hist. Reg. Brit. vi. 15.

umphed over the Saxons, he determined to raise over the burial-place of these British chiefs some monument which should last for ages, and, by the advice of his counsellors, he called in the assistance of the soothsayer Merlin. Merlin told him that on a mountain in Ireland, called Killaraus (supposed to mean the Curragh of Kildare), there was a wonderful structure called the Giants' Dance (*chorea gigantum*), consisting of stones of great magnitude, which, if brought away and raised round the burial-place of the British chiefs, would remain there for ever. "They are," said Merlin, "mystical stones, and of medicinal virtue. The giants of old brought them from the furthest coast of Africa, and placed them in Ireland, while they inhabited that country. Their design in this was to make baths in them when they should be taken with any illness; for their method was to wash the stones, and with the water bathe their sick, by which they were infallibly cured. With the like success they cured wounds also, adding only the application of some herbs. There is not a stone there which has not some healing virtue." The Britons now determined to have the stones; an expedition was sent out under Uther Pendragon; there was hard fighting, but the Irish, who attempted to defend the stones, were utterly defeated, and, by the agency of Merlin, these were transported into Wiltshire, and raised in their original arrangement over the graves of the British chiefs. We can trace in this story the existence of superstitions con-

nected with the stones which had nothing to do with their real history.

Geoffrey of Monmouth has not told us directly that this monumental edifice was Stonehenge, but the omission has been supplied by his translators and paraphrasers, of whom there were many in the same century in which he lived. The first of these was Geoffrey's own contemporary, the Anglo-Norman trouvère or poet Gaimar, who was particularly well acquainted with English legends and traditions, and from whom we might possibly have received new light; but unfortunately that part of Gaimar's metrical history which represented Geoffrey of Monmouth is lost. The next translator, another Anglo-Norman poet, Waec, who wrote a few years later, has given little more than a paraphrase of Geoffrey's text. He relates the same account of the massacre of the British chiefs, except that he says the scene of the festival was on Salisbury Plain, near the abbey of Ambresbury, and not at the abbey.

Es grans plaines de Salesbere,  
Les l'abeie d'Ambresbere.

Waec gives almost a literal translation of Geoffrey's account of the expedition to Ireland, and of the bringing of the Giants' Dance to England, adding, however, that this monument was called in English Stonehenge, and rightly interpreting the English word as meaning the "hanging stones."

Breton les solent en Bretan  
 Apeler Karole-as-gaians;  
 Stanhe<sup>ng</sup>ues ont non en Englois,  
 Pieres pandues en Francois.

The first English translator of Geoffrey's history was Layamon, an ecclesiastic who resided on the banks of the Severn, who appears to have been partly contemporary with Wace, and whom we may suppose to have known of any traditions connected with Stonchenge, had they existed. But Layamon again does little more than paraphrase his original. He tells us, however, that the former name of the place on which Stonchenge stands was *Ælenga*, which is somewhat curious, as meaning the place of the sick or ailing, and may perhaps have reference to a superstition then existing that the sick were cured by these stones. He tells us that the fatal meeting was held

|  |   |
|--|---|
| an ane uælde þe wæs muri<br>anuast Ambresburi;           | in a plain that was pleasant<br>beside Ambresbury;            |
| þe stude wes <i>Ælenga</i> ,<br>nu hatte hit Stan-henge. | the place was <i>Ælenga</i> ,<br>it is now called Stonehenge. |

Layamon, in his English, calls the so-called Giants' Dance the "eotende ring," or Giants' Ring, and he relates in full the rebuilding and consecration of the monument on Salisbury Plain, when it was named Stonehenge.

This became the current history of Stonehenge during the middle ages, and was repeated over and over again in history and romance. It was immediately adopted

by the Welsh bards, and soon found a place in their poetry. It has been received even by some modern writers, and it is evidently from a lingering belief in this story that has partly arisen the theory of the erection of Stonehenge at two different periods—an attempt to reconcile the supposed extreme antiquity of the original monument with the notion of its having been enlarged and applied to a different purpose. A very recent antiquarian writer has gone so far as to fix the period of this enlargement to within the years A.D. 493 and 495. For my own part I will only observe that such a theory appears to me too absurdly inconsistent with all sober ideas of history to allow it to be entertained for a moment, and we must look to some other kind of researches to throw any degree of light on the mysterious question, who were the builders of Stonehenge ?

After the period of the Reformation, when a more critical spirit of historical inquiry arose, Geoffrey of Monmouth and the medieval romances soon fell into discredit. Stonehenge then seems to have resumed the position it held in the time of Henry of Huntingdon—it was a mysterious monument, concerning which no one knew who built it or how it was built, with the exception of a few very wild legends, which had arisen out of the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It however excited curiosity, which was not diminished by the discovery, as it is reported, in the reign of Henry VIII. of an inscribed tablet of tin within its

precincts. This was perhaps another fable of Stonehenge; but it appears more certain that within a century of this pretended discovery systematical excavations were attempted. Aubrey, himself a native of Wiltshire, assures us that in 1620 the celebrated Duke of Buckingham, King James's favourite, "did cause the middle of Stonehenge to be digged, and this underdigging was the cause of the falling down or recumbencie of the great stone there." He probably means the upright of one of the triliths, which is still sustained in a leaning position, and appears with its tenon on the top in our sketch of the interior. Aubrey informs us that in the course of these excavations there was found "a great many horns of stags and oxen, charcoal, batter-dashes, heads of arrows, some pieces of armour eaten out with rust, and rotten bones." What Aubrey meant by the mysterious name of "batter-dashes" appears very doubtful, and the other articles as he describes them throw very little light on the matter. We cannot guess much more from the assertion of Inigo Jones, "that the cover of a thuribulum, or incense cup," was in his time found within the area of Stonehenge, because if we had before us the article to which he applied that term it would probably prove to be something very different. We could give more weight to the statements of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who describing his own researches, and those of his friends, says, "We found, on digging, several fragments of Roman as well as of coarse British

pottery; parts of the head and horns of deer and other animals, and a large barbed arrow-head of iron. [This bears out singularly the statement of Aubrey with regard to the result of the excavations made by direction of the Duke of Buckingham.] Dr. Stukeley says that he dug close to the altar, and at the depth of one foot came to solid chalk. Mr. Cunnington also dug about the same place to the depth of nearly six feet, and found that chalk had been moved to that depth; and, at the depth of three feet, he found some Roman pottery, and at the depth of six feet some pieces of Sarsen stones, three fragments of coarse half-baked pottery, and some charred wood." "In digging into the ditch that surrounds the area, Mr. Cunnington found similar remnants of antiquity; and in the waggon-tracks, near Stonehenge, you frequently meet with chippings of the stones of which the temple (*i. e.* Stonehenge) was constructed. Soon after the fall of the great trilithon in 1797, Mr. Cunnington dug out some of the earth that had fallen into the excavation, and found a fragment of fine black Roman pottery, and since that another piece in the same spot; but I have no idea that this pottery ever lay beneath the stones, but probably in the earth adjoining the trilithon, and, after the downfall of the latter, it fell with the mouldering earth into the excavation." If the circumstance of these discoveries has any weight, it would incline us to ascribe the erection of Stonehenge to the earlier part of the Roman settlement, perhaps to that period

while the British princes were allowed a nominal independence. It is worthy of remark, that in the valley below Stonehenge, about half a mile to the north-east, is a tract of ground about three hundred and thirty feet broad, and a mile and a half long, running from east to west, bounded on each side by parallel banks and ditches, with a mound stretching across its eastern extremity. This has been called a *cursus*, and supposed to have been a course for chariot or horse races, formed by the Romans, or by some people who imitated their manners.

At the time of the Duke of Buckingham's excavations, circumstances appear to have called more than usual attention to Stonehenge. Inigo Jones, the celebrated architect, first made it the subject of a book; his notion was that it was a Roman temple of the Tuscan order, dedicated to Cœlus. Other writers followed, who attributed it to different peoples, Phœnicians, Britons, Saxons, or Danes. One of these writers, in comparatively recent times, fancied that it was built before the deluge. The sanguine but not always judicious antiquary Stukeley published in 1740 a large dissertation in folio on Stonehenge, full of vague and rather wild speculations; he set it down for a temple of the British Druids. Some subsequent writers have gone still more wild on the subject, and have broached strange notions of its having been erected by the Druids as an astronomical observatory. All this only shews us the danger of speculating too far on such

subjects when we have nothing but imagination for our guide. The two opinions which really rest on any thing like sober judgment are, that it was a sepulchral monument or a temple for worship, and both are in some measure supported by preconceived biases. The oldest traditions, as we have seen, make it a monument for the dead; but this notion arose probably from the numerous tumuli which surround it, for there can be no doubt that it stands in the midst of a vast cemetery. On the other hand, those who take it for a temple seem to be led a little by the pre-existing notions of a church in the middle of a burial ground. I am not aware that we have any reason for believing that any of the ancient races in our island were accustomed to bury their dead round their temples; or to choose for the site of their temples so wild a situation as this. There are difficulties in both suppositions, which we cannot satisfactorily overcome for want of knowledge, and for that reason it must always remain a doubtful question. Let us not waste in the pursuit of a shadow that time and learning which might be employed on more promising labours. Stonehenge presents itself to us now in much the same obscurity as it did some two centuries and a half ago to worthy Michael Drayton, when he wrote thus of it in that strange so-called poem of his, the *Polyolbion* :—

Dull heape, that thus thy head above the rest doost reare,  
Precisely yet not know'st who first didst place thee there;





OLD SARUM, FROM THE DEVIZES ROAD.

But traytor basely turn'd to Merlin's skill doost flie,  
And with his magiques doost thy makers' truth belie;  
Conspirator with time, now growen so meane and poore,  
Comparing these his spirits with those that went before;  
Yet rather art content thy builders' praise to lose,  
Than passed greatnes should thy present wants disclose.  
Ill did those mightie men to trust thee with their storie,  
That hast forgot their names who rear'd thee for their glorie;  
For all their wondrous cost, thou that hast serv'd them so,  
What 'tis to trust to tombes by thee we easily know.

We must indeed, we fear, leave this monument involved in the mystery which perhaps constitutes, in the eyes of most visitors, its peculiar charm. An hour or two may be pleasantly spent in contemplating the grey mouldering relics of the labours of people whose history is lost in the obscurity of ages. The fine bracing air of these downs on a day of summer or autumn produces an exhilarating effect on the spirits which none can understand who have not experienced it; and, independently of the interest of the scene, this will fully repay the drive, or ride, or even walk, from Salisbury, from whence it is distant somewhat less than eight miles. When the wanderer leaves the wild downs, he will be pleased to contemplate once more the picturesque valley of the Avon, the deserted fortifications of Old Sarum, and to reach again his temporary home in its modern representative.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## OLD SARUM.

THERE are other objects of interest in the neighbourhood of Salisbury sufficient to retain the visitor a few days. Among these we must place first the site of the old city of Sarum, which will already have attracted his attention, and stimulated his curiosity, as it presented itself before him on his way to Stonehenge. Our way thither lies northward from the modern city, on leaving which we may either take the high road, or a walk through the fields which turns off to the left, and leads us along the bottom of the valley, with one of the branches of the river, which here separates and incloses some meadows that form an island, pursuing its winding course in the fields further to the left. After awhile we turn our back upon the river, and crossing the road begin to ascend the hill, with the entrenchments of Old Sarum before us, rising up in such bold outline above every object around that the stranger will have no difficulty in finding his way to the object of his pilgrimage. The path we are now following becomes gradually steeper,





OUTER ENTRENCHMENTS OF OLD SARUM.

until we reach the outer entrenchments, at a point on the southern side, about half way between the two entrances. The appearance of these entrenchments, where we first come upon them, is represented in the accompanying sketch.

The outer entrenchments of Old Sarum cut in the chalk hill, are of vast dimensions, inclosing an area of fourteen hundred yards in circumference. They form a circle slightly elongated from east to west. The vallum, which is on the left-hand side of our sketch, rises to the formidable height of a hundred and six feet, and originally presented a smooth face of chalk, so steep that its ascent must have been nearly impossible. The raised bank, on the outside of the foss, is also of considerable elevation, and altogether these defences must have presented a very formidable obstacle to any assailants. They are very well preserved through the whole circuit. If we follow their course till we reach the western extremity of the area, we find there an entrance by a mound forming a bridge across the foss, ascending to the interior by a cut through the vallum, and approached outside by two paths running north and south under the entrenchments. This was the postern or secondary entrance to the town, and appears to have formed a sort of covered way, protected in medieval times by a tower or turret. From hence, pursuing our course along the northern side of the entrenchments, we come to the eastern or principal entrance, a view of

which as it appears to us from the approach on this side is given in our cut from a sketch by Mr. Fairholt. The massive character of the earthworks at this point is extremely striking, and the view is one of considerable beauty. In the foreground the bold outlines of the ancient fortifications, with a group of trees near at hand on the right, which serve as a screen to the little Old Castle Inn, celebrated in late municipal history as the residence of the single voter for the truly rotten borough of Old Sarum, and behind it the only hill of any elevation in the immediate vicinity; beneath us the valley of the Avon, and before us, at a distance of about a mile, the city of Salisbury, surrounded by an amphitheatre of distant hills. The grand entrance to Old Sarum is an opening of tolerable breadth, cut through the entrenchments, crossing the foss by a low bank, and rising very gradually into the interior. Outside the foss it separates into two roads, running, as on the eastern side, north and south, but much more boldly formed. At the angle where the two roads separate, is a strong outwork, immediately facing the entrance, and surrounded outwardly by a deep ditch.

On proceeding through the grand entrance, we are introduced to an area of not far short of thirty acres, around which the great earthen vallum rises to a comparatively slight elevation. The centre of this area is occupied by another equally extraordinary fortification, which formed the citadel of the ancient town. It is surrounded by a foss



EASTERN ENTRANCE TO OLD SARUM.



and earthen vallum exactly resembling in construction those of the outer circuit, but only a little above three hundred yards in circumference. The vallum is a hundred feet high, and on the top may be traced all round the fragments of a very strong wall, which once surmounted it, and formed the outer wall of the medieval castle. Within this elevated area, strongly marked inequalities in the ground probably cover the foundations of the ancient buildings of the castle, and the site of the well, which must have been of great depth, is distinctly visible. The entrance to the castle is exactly opposite the eastern entrance to the town, and is marked by the massive remains of the masonry of the gateway at the summit of the vallum; it appears to have been approached by a flight of steps, and by a mound across the foss at the bottom. The area of the castle stands at a very great elevation above the valley, and commands a most extensive view in every direction. The sides and top of the vallum of the citadel are now overgrown with trees and brushwood. The outer area of Old Sarum, in which was situated the early town, has been long under cultivation, and when I visited it with some friends in the summer of the present year (1853), a great part of it was covered with corn. It presents, however, everywhere much unevenness of surface, which, combined with the inequality of the growth of the corn in different parts, lead us at once to conclude that excavations at no great depth would bring to light traces of

the ancient buildings, and be rewarded by many interesting discoveries.

Although the earlier history of this extraordinary place is very obscure, yet we are enabled to trace its general outline by a certain number of allusions in the ancient chroniclers. Coins have been found in sufficient quantities to assure us that it was occupied by the Romans, and that it was a station of great importance is proved clearly by the number of Roman roads which are traced from it as a centre branching off in different directions. Three roads from the great eastern entrance ran, one to Silchester (*Calleva*) on the way to London; a second direct to Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) and so on to the south-eastern coast; and a third to Dorchester (*Durnovaria*). Another road is traced in a westerly direction towards the Severn; and a fifth is believed to have been traced in the direction of the Hampshire coast. These circumstances, combined with the position of Old Sarum when compared with the Roman Itineraries, leave no room for doubt that these extraordinary entrenchments belonged to the town of *Sorbiodonum*. It has been assumed that the character of the earthworks, and its peculiar position, prove it to have been an ancient city of the Britons before it was occupied by the Romans; but this is nothing more than an assumption, and the fact that it seems to have been totally unknown to Ptolemy, seems to me to militate against it. The old notion that Roman towns and stations were all

built in accordance with one form and design has now been exploded ; and we can easily imagine the Roman conquerors fixing upon a site so well calculated for a town which should protect the rich districts to the north-east and south-east from the remains of hostile tribes, who would still find a shelter in the wild country to the west, and making it doubly strong by artificial entrenchments of the massive character of those which now exist at Old Sarum. The general form of Old Sarum, with its citadel in the middle, and its entrenchments around, reminded me in some degree, though on a much larger scale, of that of Bramber in Sussex, which is supposed to be the Roman *Portus Adurni*. Sorbiodunum is first named in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and is not mentioned, I think, in any other Roman writer. Richard of Cirencester places it among the ten cities in Britain under the Latian law, which implies the possession of very extensive municipal privileges ; and, whatever doubts may be entertained with regard to Richard's book as it is now known, I am inclined to believe that these lists are correct. It was certainly a place of importance at the period of the occupation of this part of the island by the Saxons, who retained its Roman name under the corrupted form of Searo-byrig, which literally means *Sorbiodunum-burgh*. We learn from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle that in the year 552 Cynric, who had landed with his father on the British shore about sixty years before, "fought against the Britons at the place

which is called Searo-byrig, and he put the Britons to flight." Until this time Sorbiodunum had evidently retained its independence; but immediately after the event just mentioned, it no doubt capitulated with the invaders.

We have now to deal with Searo-byrig as an Anglo-Saxon town, and in the change it seems to have lost none of its importance. It was no doubt to protect it that king Alfred, within a month after his accession to the throne, hazarded a battle with very inferior numbers against the Danish invaders at Wilton, where, after a long struggle, the Saxons were defeated; and he soon afterwards showed his anxiety for the preservation of this place by ordering its fortifications to be repaired and strengthened with pallisades. It appears to have remained a place of security during this and the following century, and its importance is proved by the circumstance that in the year 960 king Edgar held here a national council or parliament (*the witen-a-gemot*) to consult on the means of preventing the attacks of the Danes. During the later ravages of these invaders, in the year 1003, it appears to have fallen into the hands of Swegn, after he had plundered and burnt the neighbouring town of Wilton, though it is not stated what degree of injury it suffered at that time. It is probable, however, that the injury was not great, as it was again a flourishing place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, while Wilton, though a bishop's see, had sunk into comparative insignificance.

Thus we can trace the continued existence of this ancient town, under the names of Sorbiodunum and Searobyrig, during the Roman and Saxon periods. The old form of the name appears to have been entirely forgotten, for its Saxon name was now Latinised into Sarum, while the Normans corrupted the Saxon name into Saresbires or Sarisbirie and (*r* and *l* being interchangeable letters) Salisbirie, from which the modern name is taken. Down to this time it is probable that the whole town was contained within the entrenchments. Among its ecclesiastical edifices was a nunnery dedicated to St. Mary, to which Edith, the queen of Edward the Confessor, gave lands at Shorstan; and in this reign at least the town possessed a mint, as a coin of Edward has been found with an inscription stating it to have been struck by "Godred at Sarum."

The lordship of Sarum was given by William the Conqueror to his nephew Osmund lord of Seez, and a strong garrison was placed in the castle. The town continued to be a place of so much importance, that in 1076 the bishopric of Wilton was removed to it. Ten years afterwards William the Conqueror held a parliament here, with the Anglo-Saxon formalities; a similar parliament was held here in 1096 by his successor; and Henry I. held his court at Old Sarum in 1100, immediately after his accession to the throne.

After it became an episcopal see, Sarum (the name by

which it was best known) was destined to hold a prominent place in our ecclesiastical annals. Osmund, the second bishop, commenced what was then considered a noble cathedral, which was finished about the beginning of the year 1091; and more than this, he drew up a new ritual for the use of cathedrals and larger ecclesiastical establishments, which became the grand model of the greater part of the English church, and was celebrated down to the time of the Reformation as the liturgy *ad usum Sarum*. The original liturgy of Bishop Osmund is still preserved in the cathedral of Salisbury. Henry I. gave the see of Sarum to his chancellor Roger, who was a great benefactor to the cathedral, and not only embellished the cathedral itself, but repaired and improved the fortifications of the town and castle. In 1116 a parliament was held here for the purpose of fixing the succession to the crown of England. Under Stephen, the castle of Sarum was occupied by the party opposed to the crown, and became so obnoxious to that monarch that he gave orders for the destruction of the monastery and church adjoining the castle, a circumstance which enlightens us further on the ecclesiastical structures in the town; and he intended to dismantle the castle also. It is not necessary to notice the different allusions to this place which shew its importance down to the end of the twelfth century. About that time the desire was becoming stronger and stronger on the part of the clergy to remove their church into the plain. There were various reasons

for this feeling. In this elevated position there was a want of water, and various other inconveniences, which were felt the more severely from the view of the plentifully irrigated valley below. These were borne as long as they were compensated by the sense of security which the place afforded, but now this was of less importance. Moreover, in this elevated spot the church was exposed to wind and storm to such a degree that within a few days of the completion of Bishop Osmund's cathedral, its tower and roof were partially destroyed by lightning. Another grievance was added to these by the increasing disagreements between the clergy and the garrison of the citadel. Old John Aubrey, in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, edited by Mr. Britton, gives a curious traditional account of the inconveniences to which the clergy of Sarum were sometimes exposed. "The following account," he says, "I had from the right reverend, learned, and industrious Seth Ward, Lord Bishop of Sarum, who had taken the pains to peruse all the old records of the church that had been clung together and untouched for perhaps two hundred years. Within this castle of Old Sarum, on the east side, stood the cathedral church; the tuft and site is yet discernible; which being seated so high was so obnoxious to the weather, that when the wind did blow they could not hear the priest say mass. But this was not the only inconvenience. The soldiers of the castle and the priests could never agree; and one day, when they were gone without

the castle in procession, the soldiers kept them out all night, or longer; whereupon the bishop, being much troubled, cheered them up as well as he could, and told them he would study to accommodate them better. In order thereunto he rode several times to the lady abbess at Wilton, to have bought or exchanged a piece of ground of her ladyship to build a church and houses for the priests. A poor woman at Quidhampton, that was spinning in the street, said to one of her neighbours, 'I marvel what the matter is that the bishop makes so many visits to my lady; I trow he intends to marry her.' Well, the bishop and her ladyship did not conclude about the land, and the bishop dreamt that the Virgin Mary came to him, and brought him to or told him of Merrifield; she would have him build his church there, and dedicate it to her. Merrifield was a great field or meadow where the city of New Sarum stands, and did belong to the bishop, as now the whole city belongs to him."

It was Richard Poor, bishop of Sarum from 1217 to 1229, who carried this great design into execution. Having obtained the authority of the king and the pope for his undertaking, he laid the foundations of the cathedral of modern Salisbury in the year 1220, and the building proceeded with so much rapidity, that in 1225 it was fit for the celebration of divine service. Hither the episcopal see was now removed, although a body of clergy was still left to officiate in the old cathedral upon the hill, and for a while

the ancient city of Sarum continued to be an important borough town, and there was no little rivalry between the old city and the new one. However, the departure of the bishop and his clergy had caused a great revolution in the old town. They and their dependants, with the people connected with the garrison, appear to have formed the main body of the inhabitants within the entrenchments. As was usually the case under such circumstances, a new town had been gradually forming, which originated probably in a few houses built beside the old Roman road leading down from the fortress. This gradually formed itself into an extensive suburb, spreading over the bank which slopes down from the eastern entrance towards Salisbury, and it was surrounded with a wall, and formed chiefly the medieval municipal borough. There was still more than one church within the old town, and apparently some other ecclesiastical establishments. It is probable that the old cathedral of Osmund gradually fell into neglect, and when, in 1331, materials were wanting for the new edifice in the plain, letters patent were obtained from Edward III. giving to the bishop and chapter all the walls of the former cathedral of Old Sarum, and of the houses which had belonged to the bishop and canons within the castle of Sarum, for the improvement of the church of New Sarum, and of the close thereto belonging. The church and other buildings were accordingly demolished, and appear to have been employed in completing Salisbury spire, and in build-

ing the wall of the close, which is filled with stones exhibiting sculpture of the Norman period. From this time the destruction of the city of Old Salisbury appears to have gone on very rapidly. Leland, who visited it in the reign of Henry VIII., gives, in his quaint language, the following account of its appearance at that time :—“ Os-mund Erle of Dorchestre, and after Bisshop of Saresbyri, erectid his cathedrale chireh ther in the west part of the town, and also his palace, wherof now no token is, but only a chapelle of our lady yet standing and mainteynid. Ther was a paroch of the Holy Rode, beside, in Old Saresbyri; and an other over the est gate, wherof yet sum tokens remayne. I do not perceyve that ther were any mo gates in Old Saresbyri then two, one by est and an other by west. Withoute eche of these gates was a fair suburbe. And yn the est suburbe was a paroch chireh of S. John, and ther yet is a chapelle standinge . . . . There hath beene houses in tyme of mynd inhabitid in the est suburbe of Old Saresbyri”—that is, in the borough—“ but now ther is not one house, nether within Old Saresbyri or without, inhabited. Ther was a right fair and strong castelle within Old Saresbyri, longging to the erles of Saresbyri, especially the Longespees ; I reede that one Gualterus was the first erle after the conquest of it. Much notable ruinus building of this castelle yet ther remaynith. The diche that environid the old town was a very deepe and strong thyng.”

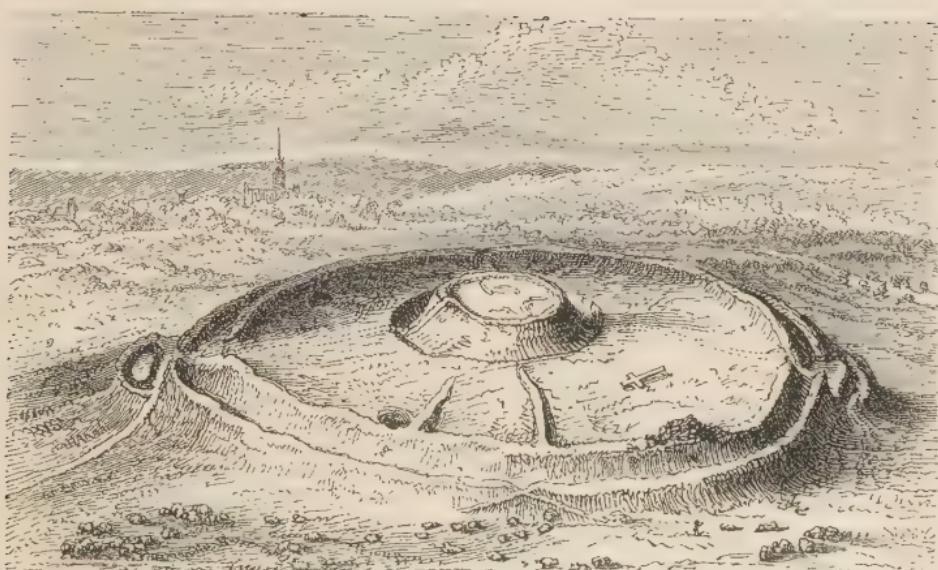
One would imagine that Leland was speaking of a town which had ceased to exist a thousand years ago, rather than of what had been within two centuries a flourishing city. It appears that the walls of the town and castle still remained, for we learn from a nearly contemporary record that the walls about Old Sarum were demolished in 1608, and in the churchwardens' books money is accounted for as having been paid for a load of stones from the castle in 1624. Pepys, describing his journey from Hungerford to Salisbury, over the plain, in the June of 1668, says he came "to Salisbury by night ; but before I came to the town I saw a great fortification, and there light, and to it and in it, and find it prodigious; so as to fright me to be in it all alone at that time of night, it being dark. I understand since it to be that that is called Old Sarum." It would not be easy to give a simpler and more expressive picture of desolation.

I have traced the medieval history of this ancient city with the more care, because it furnishes an interesting lesson to the antiquary. We are accustomed to wonder at the disappearance of Roman towns, where no adequate cause seems to present itself, and at the accumulation of earth which has buried them; but here is a town which was standing at a recent period, with a cathedral and palace, and churches and other buildings, and strongly walled, and yet its site at the present time is as bare of any remains of its former stateliness as almost any Roman site

in the island.\* The accompanying bird's-eye view, made from a model by the late Mr. Hatcher, and kindly lent me by Mr. John Britton, the distinguished and venerable antiquary of Wiltshire, gives a very good general idea of the present state of Old Sarum, with the exception of some trees and bushes which are omitted. It is supposed to be viewed from the northern side, and we see the course of the Avon and Old Salisbury in the distance. The cross within the area marks the site of Bishop Osmund's cathedral, the cathedral close having occupied the space between the dotted lines running from the western entrance of the town and the first embankment. The hall or palace of the bishop, with its grounds, is supposed to have stood between the two banks here seen in the interior, on its northern side. Opposite this second bank was accidentally discovered, in 1795, a subterranean passage, which seems to have formed a secret communication between the interior and the foss.† There is another large bank on the other

\* The materials for this account will be found in the elaborate history of Salisbury, forming the last volume of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "Modern Wiltshire," which was compiled by the late Mr. Hatcher, so well known as the English editor of Richard of Cirencester.

† The only account that has been preserved of this discovery is given in the Salisbury Journal for February, 1795, as follows:— "February 16. A subterraneous passage has lately been discovered within the limits of the ancient city of Old Sarum. The severe frosts and sudden inundations which ensued, by pressing more strongly than



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF OLD SARUM.

Drawn by F. W. Fairholt, from a Model by W. H. Hatcher.



side of the area, a little way to the westward of which stands the only fragment of the town wall of any consequence now remaining. It seems to have run round the town, just within the earthen vallum, and was faced with large squared stones, with square openings through it at intervals. In one or two places on the line of this wall we trace the foundations of towers.

The finding of the passages just alluded to, and many other indications which are visible on the site, lead us usual on the slight surface that covered the mouth of the entrance, have opened a passage under the ramparts, on the north-east quarter, near the supposed site of one of the ancient towers. By a doorway, of near four feet in width, a part of the square stone columns of which remain in a perfect state, a spacious covered way is entered of about seven feet in breadth and from eight to ten or more in height, with a circular Saxon roof, evidently arched. It has been found to descend in an angle, nearly parallel to the glacis of the surrounding ditch, to the distance of 114 feet; but the loose chalk from above, which has rolled down and choked up the bottom, at present prevents any further progress. We think, however, that it cannot extend much further, and that it must have been intended as a passage to the foss and outworks, affording not only an easy and convenient communication with the country, but an effectual retreat into the city, from the pursuit of a superior enemy, after obtaining possession of these outworks. On measuring the same distance of 114 feet from the foss, directly up the glacis, it is found to have a striking correspondence, which affords strong grounds for conjecture that it terminated there by a passage outwards." From this description it is quite impossible to decide to what period, from the time of the Romans to that of the Normans, this passage belonged—it may have been Roman, Saxon, or Norman work; and it is now filled up by the sinking of the earth.

naturally to believe that very interesting discoveries may yet be made by well-directed excavations. In the autumn of 1834, in consequence of a long drought, the outline of the foundation of the ancient cathedral became distinctly visible, and it was found to have been in the shape of a plain cross, about 270 feet in length from the western entrance to the end of the choir, and 70 feet in width. The transept was estimated at 150 feet in length, and of the same width as the choir. The lines of the plinths indicated a breadth of about 30 feet in the nave, and 20 in the aisles; and the dimensions of the transept, as well as the traces of the plinths, which became partially visible, indicated that it consisted of a body and two aisles, of the same width as the nave. These details are given by Mr. Hatcher, who has left us the following account of the excavations subsequently made on the spot.

“ In the month of October, 1835, a plan was formed for opening the foundations, and the acquiescence of the proprietor and occupier of the land being obtained, by the influence of Dr. Fowler, at whose expense the excavations were made, Mr. Fisher (the clerk of the works to Salisbury cathedral) kindly undertook to superintend the work. The angles of the west front, the transept, and one side at the east end, were soon laid open, as well as what appeared to have been part of the plinths, or foundations of the line of pillars, which divided the body of the church from the aisles. It was ascertained that the foundation was laid on



FRAGMENT OF THE TOWN WALL OF OLD SARUM.



the solid chalk, at the depth of nearly eight feet from the present surface. The fronting was surprisingly firm and compact, as it was more easy to break, than to separate, the fragments of stone embedded in the mortar. The facings had been everywhere carefully removed. The soil was chiefly factitious to the depth of the foundation, and consisted of small pieces of stone and mortar. The walls, without the facings, were six feet in thickness above the set-off of the foundation. At the distance of 30 feet from the northern angle of the choir, and near the supposed site of the high altar, an interment was discovered. At the depth of four feet a skeleton was found, with the head close to the foundation, and the feet turned towards the west. Pursuing the opening a little further, a second skeleton was uncovered, with the feet towards the east, and a little above those of the former. The skull was in fine preservation, and apparently that of a young person; and, according to the rule laid down by the Roman ritual, which directs that ecclesiastics shall be buried with the head towards the high altar, one of these must have been a priest. At the same time, and near the same spot, on the outside of the wall, close to the foundation, the labourers discovered an ancient key. It was less injured by rust than might have been imagined. Its length was seven and a-half inches, the breadth of the wards two and a-half inches, and their depth two inches. It was nearly a pound in weight. It must have been intended for a

door of considerable thickness, the pipe being perforated to the length of almost five inches. A smaller key, apparently belonging to a chest, was afterwards found near the same spot. In the rubbish were seen fragments of stained glass, and even of the window-leads, as well as of charcoal, or burnt wood."

On the south side of the choir the excavators subsequently discovered an empty grave, which, from several circumstances connected with it, was believed to have been the first depository of the body of the founder of the church, Bishop Osmund, which was removed in 1226 to the cathedral of New Salisbury. From the further examination of the foundations, compared with the cathedral at Winchester, Mr. Hatcher was enabled to form a very satisfactory notion of Bishop Osmund's church, but for these details I will refer my readers to his own book.

Of the Roman roads which I have mentioned as branching off from Old Sarum, two crossed the Avon, one immediately to the south of the city, and the other a little to the west. The houses which were built at the place of transit formed gradually a village, named from this circumstance Stratsford, *i. e.* the ford of the street or road, I need hardly say that the term *street* (from the Latin *stratum*) was almost invariably given by the Saxons to the Roman roads. A pleasant country lane leads us from the old public house at Old Sarum to the road which goes through the village, and if we pursue this road towards the west,





OLD SARUM, FROM LITTLE DURNFORD HILL.

that is from Salisbury, till we pass the last cottages of the village of Stratford, we arrive at a hill called Little Durnford-hill, from the top of which we have a noble view of Old Sarum, with Salisbury in the distance, and the church and village of Stratford below. The brow of the hill on which we are standing is covered with ancient barrows, some of which are shown in the foreground of our sketch. A few of these were opened by Mr. Duke in 1811, and appear not to have been very rich in ancient remains. Most of the mounds seem to have been empty; but as I find it recorded that in 1732 one of them was accidentally opened, and a skeleton with a spear-head found, I am inclined to suppose that they may be Saxon; perhaps the graves of some of the early inhabitants of Searo-byrig. In this case Mr. Duke lost his labour by not digging into the ground under the mound, instead of expecting to find the sepulchral deposit in the mound itself.

Let us now retrace our steps towards Salisbury. Just before we enter Stratford, a little bridge crosses and partially dams up the river to the right, in a very picturesque spot. The scenery here, indeed, assumes a truly rural character, and the visitor who loves a real country walk, instead of returning to the road, may make his way back through the meadows which border the river all the way to Salisbury. Some of them, especially close to the bank of the river, are rich in wild-flowers, and perfumed with immense masses of meadow-sweet, the *spirea ulmaria* of

Linnæus, a flower which was not inaptly called by our forefathers the queen of the meadows. But whichever path the visitor chooses, whether the road through the villages, or that through the meadows, his attention will be continually attracted to the bold and lofty outlines of Old Sarum, which overlooks every other object.

## INDEX.

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*Ad decimum* (Bignor?), 284  
Addington, Kent, cromlechs in the parish of, 180, 181  
*Adurni Portus* (Bramber), 262—265, 313  
*Alauna* (Alchester), 21  
Alban, St. legend of, 49  
Albans, St. town of, 43  
Alchester, Worcestershire, 21  
Aldborough, Yorkshire, 232—258  
Altar, Roman, used as a holy-water stoup, 17  
*Anderida* (Pevensey), 137—157  
Andredes-ceaster, 137  
*Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard), 15, 24  
Arthur's Hall, King, 13  
Arundel, 274  
Avisford, in Sussex, curious Roman sepulchral remains found at, 273  
Aylesford, Kent, 174, 179  
Barnet, Herts, 42  
Barrows, in Sussex, opened by Dr. Mantell, 145; at Snodland, Kent, opening of a barrow at, 183—188  
Bignor, Sussex, Roman villa at, 277—286  
*Blestium* (Monmouth), 5  
Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, 231, 232, 255, 258  
Bramber Castle, Sussex, 260  
Brandon Camp, 196  
*Bravinium* (Brandon Camp), 196  
Bridstow, Herefordshire, 2  
Buckstone, the, 7  
Bury, meaning of the word, 206, 207—210  
Bury Ditches, Shropshire, 201  
Caer, or Gaer, meaning of the word, 208  
Caer Caradoc, 199, 208  
Cæsar, place of his landing in Britain, 101  
Cæsar's Camp, 112  
*Calcaria* (Tadcaster), 215  
Camps, ancient, 190—210  
Caster, or Chester, meaning of the word, 207  
*Cataracto* (Catteric), 257  
Caynham Camp, 193  
Cemetery, early Saxon, at Osengall, 74, 78—83  
*Classiarii Britannici*, 111, 131  
Clee Hills, 191, 194  
Clun, Shropshire, 202  
Coffins, Roman, of clay, 248  
Cold Harbour, 276  
Court-at-Street, Kent, 135  
Coxwall Knoll, 198  
Cromlechs, in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, 172—183  
David's Grave, legend of, 29  
Deal, in Kent, 104  
Dean, Forest of, Roman iron-works in, 9—20  
Devil's Arrows, near Boroughbridge, 258  
Dover, 109  
Druidical Monument, 203

*Dubræ* (Dover), 110  
*Durnford Hill*, Little, and its barrows, 327  
*Durobernum* (Canterbury), 72  
*Durobrivæ* (Castor), 166  
*Durobrivæ* (Rochester), 162  
*Eburacum* (York), 211  
*Edwin*, King, the story of his conversion to Christianity, 219—226  
*Flanesford Priory*, Herefordshire, 4  
*Folkestone*, Kent, 114—117  
*Gaer Ditches*, 199  
*Gariannoum* (Burgh Castle) 148  
*Gillow*, old moated house at, 29  
*Glevum* (Gloucester), 27  
*Goodmanham*, Yorkshire, 219, 226—229  
*Goodrich Castle and Court*, Herefordshire, 3  
*Hereford*, 32  
*Hoborough*, barrow at, opened, 184  
*Hythe*, Kent, 118  
 ing, termination of names of places, its meaning, 272  
*Inscription*, Greek, 241  
*Inscriptions*, Roman, 17, 40, 132, 249, 257  
*Iron-works*, Roman, in the Forest of Dean, 9—20; in Sussex, 159—161  
*Isurium* (Aldborough), 231—258  
*Kenchester*, Herefordshire, 34—41  
*Kingsbury*, St. Alban's, Saxon palace at, 53  
*Kits Coty House*, 172—175  
*Lemanis Portus* (Lymne), 123—134  
*Lewes*, Sussex, 142  
*Londesborough*, Yorkshire, 217—219, 229  
*Lone Tree*, near Dover, legend of the, 108  
*Low*, meaning of the word, 30  
*Ludlow*, Shropshire, 190  
*Lymne*, Kent, 122  
*Magna* (Kenchester), 34—41  
*Maid of Kent*, her visions, 185  
*Maidstone*, valley of, 172—189  
*Malton*, Old, Yorkshire, 215  
*Medway*, potteries on its banks, 162; its course above Rochester, 172  
*Middleton*, Shropshire, rood-loft at, 191  
*Millaria*, Roman, 257  
*Monmouth*, 5  
*Mutuantonis* (Lewes ?) 153  
*Offa's Dyke*, 203  
*Osengall*, near Ramsgate, the site of a Saxon cemetery, 74—83  
*Oysters*, the Romans derived them from Richborough, 97  
*Pavements*, tessellated, 234—241, 279—282  
*Pencraig*, Herefordshire, 3  
*Pevenscy Castle*, 137, 146—157  
*Pits*, ancient, found in Kent, 176—178  
*Portus Adurni* (Bramber) 262—265, 313  
*Portus Lemanis* (Lymne), 123—134  
*Potters' marks*, Roman, 253  
*Pottery*, Roman, found on the banks of the Medway, 162  
*Regnum* (Chichester), 263, 276, 284  
*Regulbium* (Reculver), 70  
*Richborough*, near Sandwich, 76  
*Road*, Roman, 11  
*Rocking-stones*, 7, 8  
*Ross*, town of, in Herefordshire, described, 1  
*Rutupiæ* (Richborough), 70, 87—99  
*Salisbury*, 288, 315, 318  
*Salisbury Plain*, 290  
*Saltwood Castle*, Kent, 121  
*Sandwich*, town of, 85  
*Sarum*, Old, 307—328

Saxon architecture, characteristics of, 267—271

Saxons, their arrival in England, 69

Scowles, the name given to the Roman iron mines in the Forest of Dean, 9

Sedlescombe, Sussex, 159

Searo-byrig (Old Sarum), 313, 314

Shakespeare's Cliff, 111

Shoreham, Old and New, churches, 266

Snodland, Kent, barrow there, 183—188

Sompting Church, 267—271

*Sorbiiodunum* (Old Sarum), 312, 313

Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, battle there, 216

Stane, or Stone, Street, Roman road in Sussex, 266, 276

Steyning Church, 266

Stonehenge, 291—307

Street, the name usually given to Roman roads in England, 326

Sugwas Pool, legend of, 34

*Sulloniaræ* (Brockley Hill), 54

Tadcaster, Yorkshire, 215

Theatre, Roman, at Verulamium, 55—67

Toys, Roman, 38

Tretire, Herefordshire, 16

Trilith, a term used by the French Archæologists, 292

*Verulamium* (St. Alban's), 42—68

Villa, Roman, near Maidstone, 178; at Snodland, Kent, 189; at Bignor, 277—286

Watling Street, the Roman road, 54, 99

Weald district of Sussex, its character, 157

Weighton, Market, 230

Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire, 23, 24

Wilton Bridge and Castle, Herefordshire, 2

York, its antiquities, 211—215

17

5







